

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOI/PA
DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET
FOI/PA# 1331878-0

Total Deleted Page(s) = 5
Page 141 ~ Referral/Consult;
Page 165 ~ Referral/Consult;
Page 169 ~ Referral/Consult;
Page 170 ~ Referral/Consult;
Page 174 ~ Referral/Direct;

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X Deleted Page(s) X
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PLAINTEXT

TELETYPE

URGENT

11-3-72

TO SACS WASHINGTON FIELD
NEW YORK
LOS ANGELES
ST. LOUIS
ALEXANDRIA

79 sent per Hutchinson 11/1/72
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

NOV 03 1972 RES
845R
TELETYPE

FROM ACTING DIRECTOR FBI

IRVING KRISTOL, SPECIAL INQUIRY, BUDED NOVEMBER TEN, NEXT,
WITHOUT FAIL.

BUREAU HAS BEEN REQUESTED TO CONDUCT EXPEDITE INVESTIGATION
OF KRISTOL WHO IS BEING CONSIDERED FOR PRESIDENTIAL APPOINTMENT,
POSITION NOT STATED.

BORN JANUARY TWENTYTWO, ONE NINE TWO ZERO, NEW YORK CITY,
AND IS MARRIED WITH TWO CHILDREN. RESIDES NINE ZERO RIVERSIDE
DRIVE, NEW YORK CITY.

RECEIVED B.A. DEGREE, COLLEGE OF CITY OF NEW YORK, ONE NINE
FOUR ZERO.

SINCE ONE NINE SIX FOUR HAS BEEN EMPLOYED AS COEDITOR OF
"THE PUBLIC INTEREST" WITH OFFICE AT FOUR ZERO FOUR PARK AVENUE,
NEW YORK CITY. HE IS ALSO COFOUNDER OF THAT PUBLICATION.

FROM ONE NINE FOUR SEVEN TO ONE NINE FIVE TWO WAS MANAGING

REC-71

MCT-49

9153

ST-11

12 NOV 7 1972

NOTE: Request received today from White House.

DHY:cld
(3)

Felt _____
Baker _____
Bishop _____
Callahan _____
Cleveland _____
Conrad _____
Dalbey _____
Gebhardt _____
Jenkins _____
Marshall _____
Miller, E.S. _____
Purvis _____
Soyars _____
Walters _____
Tele. Room _____
Mr. Kinley _____
Mr. Armstrong _____
Ms. Herwig _____
Mrs. Neenan _____

50 DEC 18 1972

MAIL ROOM ☐

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

RETURN TO MR. YOUNG, ROOM 1258

TELETYPE TO WASHINGTON FIELD
RE: IRVING KRISTOL

EDITOR "COMMENTARY" MAGAZINE, PLACE NOT INDICATED.

FROM ONE NINE FIVE THREE TO ONE NINE FIVE NINE WAS COEDITOR
OF "ENCOUNTER" MAGAZINE, LONDON, ENGLAND.

FROM ONE NINE FIVE NINE TO ONE NINE SIX ZERO WAS EDITOR "THE
REPORTER" MAGAZINE.

FROM ONE NINE SIX ZERO TO ONE NINE SIX NINE WAS EXECUTIVE
VICE PRESIDENT OF BASIC BOOKS, INCORPORATED, PLACE NOT INDICATED.
IN ONE NINE SIX FOUR WAS VISITING LECTURER, UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
AT RIVERSIDE AND IN ONE NINE SIX SEVEN WAS MEMBER OF A STUDY GROUP ON
URBAN PROBLEMS OF RAND CORPORATION, SANTA MONICA, CALIFORNIA. HAS
SERVED ON VARIOUS PRESIDENTIAL TASK FORCES AND SINCE ONE NINE SIX NINE
HAS BEEN PROFESSOR OF URBAN VALUES AT NEW YORK UNIVERSITY.

NEW YORK IMMEDIATELY OBTAIN COMPLETE BACKGROUND DATA, INCLUDING
IDENTITIES AND LOCATIONS OF ALL CLOSE RELATIVES AND SET OUT LEADS AT
ONCE. FURNISH SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBER TO WFO FOR IRS CHECK.

DUE TO URGENT NATURE OF REQUEST, IT IS IMPERATIVE BUDED BE MET
WITHOUT FAIL. NO DELAY WILL BE TOLERATED.

ST. LOUIS CHECK FOR ANY PAST GOVERNMENT
EMPLOYMENT.

SPIN.

b7E

Federal Bureau of Investigation
Records Branch11/6, 1966²
b7C☒ Name Searching Unit - Room 6527☐ Service Unit - Room 6524☒ Forward to File Review☒ Attention☒ Return to

Supervisor Room / Ext.

Type of References Requested:

☐ Regular Request (Analytical Search)☒ All References (Subversive & Nonsubversive)☐ Subversive References Only☐ Nonsubversive References Only☐ Main _____ References Only

Type of Search Requested:

☐ Restricted to Locality of _____☐ Exact Name Only (On the Nose)☐ Buildup ☐ Variations

NOV 6 1972

Subject IRVING KRISTOL

Birthdate & Place _____

Address _____

Localities _____

R# 8Date 11/6

Searcher

Initials 217Prod. 7

FILE NUMBER

SERIAL

✓ 62-5-37721 1-19-72 SS 2-28-67✓ 62-5-37721 1-19-72✓ -28523 6-9-67✓ 62-5-27885✓ Shurin (var)✓ 100-434225-2NOV 6 1972
K

PLEASE EXPEDITE

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 3, 1972

TO: Robert H. Haynes, FBI
FROM: Alexander P. Butterfield
SUBJECT: FBI Investigations

Subject's Name: KRISTOL, Irving

Date of Birth: 1/22/20 Place of Birth New York City

Present Address: 90 Riverside Drive, New York, New York

We Request: Copy of Previous Report

Name Check

X Full Field Investigation

The person named above is being considered for:

White House Staff Position

X Presidential Appointment

Position with another Agency

ATTACHMENTS:

SF 86 (in duplicate)

SF 87, Fingerprint Card

X Biography

REMARKS:

REPORT SHOULD BE DELIVERED BY FBI TO:

9153-1

ENCLOSURE

*ante and
tel. to WFO
NY, LA, SL, IX
11-3-72
D.H. Field
b6
b7C
9-12*

This form is submitted in lieu of Form SF-171

Curriculum Vitae

IRVING KRISTOL

Born 1920, New York City. Married; two children.

B.A., City College of New York, 1940, Phi Beta Kappa, cum laude.

1947-52 Managing Editor, Commentary Magazine.

1953-59 Co-founder and co-editor (with Stephen Spender), Encounter Magazine, London.

1959-60 Editor, The Reporter.

1960-present Executive vice-president and senior editor for the social sciences, Basic Books, Inc.

1962-66 New York cultural correspondent, London Observer.

1964-present Co-founder and co-editor (with Professor Daniel Bell) of the quarterly journal of urban and social problems; The Public Interest.

1964 Regents Lecturer, University of California at Riverside.

1967 Chairman, Ford Foundation delegation of American intellectuals visiting Germany.

1967 Member, RAND Corporation Study Group on Urban Problems.

1968 Member, Vice-President's Task Force on Income Maintenance.

1968-9 Member, President-Elect's Task Force on Voluntary Urban Action.

1968 Co-chairman (with Daniel P. Moynihan), Conference on the Future of New York City, sponsored by National Affairs, Inc., Ford Foundation and the Carnegie Foundation.

1968-9 Research Associate, Russell Sage Foundation, preparing study on The Democratic Idea in America, to be published by Knopf.

1969 "The American Historian and American Democracy," to be delivered to the Organization of American Historians, May 1969.

1969 Henry R. Luce Professor of Urban Values at New York University

9153-

ENCLOSURE

Author of:

WFO
BY
"Machiavelli and Political Science," in Essays on Personal Knowledge
(London, 1962).

"The Negro and the City," in A Nation of Cities (New York, 1968).

"The American Intellectual and the Military," in The Military in American Life, to be published in the Fall, 1969 by the Twentieth Century Fund.

"Equality," in the International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences.

About fifty articles in New York Times Magazine, Harper's, Atlantic Monthly, Foreign Affairs, Fortune, Commentary, Encounter, The Public Interest, New York Review of Books, Yale Review, Partisan Review, etc., many of these reprinted in various volumes.

Editor of:

Confrontation: The Student Rebellion in America, to be published in the Spring, 1969.

Member of:

Century Club

American Political Science Association

~~American Sociological Association~~

Council on Foreign Relations

Home: 314/415-2467
Bus: 219/412-3110

Airtel

11-3-72

To: SACs, Washington Field - Enc. (5)
New York - Enc.
Los Angeles - Enc.
St. Louis - Enc.
Alexandria - Enc.

From: Acting Director, FBI

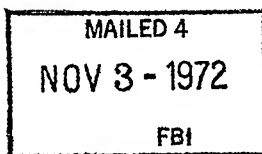
IRVING KRISTOL
SPECIAL INQUIRY
BUDED: 11-10-72

ReButel today. Enclosed is background data re Kristol.

161-7153-2

NOT RECORDED

NOV 28 1972



Felt _____
Baker _____
Bishop _____
Callahan _____
Cleveland _____
Conrad _____
Dalbey _____
Gebhardt _____
Jenkins _____
Marshall _____
Miller, E.S. _____
Purvis _____
Soyars _____
Walters _____
Tele. Room _____
Mr. Kinley _____
Mr. Armstrong _____
Ms. Herwig _____
Mrs. Neenan _____

NOTE: Request received today.

DHY:cld
(12)

MAIL ROOM ☒ TELETYPE UNIT ☐ RETURN TO MR. YOUNG, ROOM 1258.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

NOV 08 1972

TELETYPE

| | |
|------------------|-------|
| Mr. Felt | _____ |
| Mr. Baker | _____ |
| Mr. Bishop | _____ |
| Mr. Callahan | _____ |
| Mr. Cleveland | _____ |
| Mr. Conrad | _____ |
| Mr. Dalbey | _____ |
| Mr. Gebhardt | _____ |
| Mr. Jenkins | _____ |
| Mr. Marshall | _____ |
| Mr. Miller, E.S. | _____ |
| Mr. Purvis | _____ |
| Mr. Soyars | _____ |
| Mr. Walters | _____ |
| Tele. Room | _____ |
| Mr. Kinley | _____ |
| Mr. Armstrong | _____ |
| Ms. Herwig | _____ |
| Mrs. Neenan | _____ |

NR014 NY PLAIN

545PM URGENT 11-8-72 JAH

TO ACTING DIRECTOR

BOSTON

LOS ANGELES

LAS VEGAS

WASHINGTON FIELD

ST. LOUIS

PHOENIX

PHILADELPHIA

CHICAGO

---ALL OFFICES VIA WASHINGTON---

FROM NEW YORK 161-4254 5P

IRVING KRISTOL, SPI, BUDED NOVEMBER TEN, NEXT,
WITHOUT FAIL

RE BUREAU TEL NOVEMBER THREE, LAST.

BUREAU HAS BEEN REQUESTED TO CONDUCT EXPEDITE INVESTIGATION
OF KRISTOL WHO IS BEING CONSIDERED FOR PRESIDENTIAL
APPOINTMENT, POSITION NOT STATED.

END PAGE ONE

MR. MARTIN
ROOM 1246

161-7153-3

NOT RECORDED

5 NOV 28 1972

TELETYPE TO:

DEC 18 1972

F470

9-10-72

PAGE TWO

IRVING KRISTOL, BORN JANUARY TWENTY TWO, NINETEEN TWENTY,
AT NEW YORK, NEW YORK. SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBER ZERO NINE EIGHT-
ONE TWO-ZERO NINE THREE THREE, RESIDENCE NINETY RIVERSIDE
DRIVE, NEW YORK CITY, [REDACTED] BORN

b6
b7c

[REDACTED] AT NEW YORK CITY; [REDACTED]
BORN [REDACTED] ATTENDING [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] BORN [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] FATHER, JOSEPH, AGE APPROXIMATELY
EIGHTY EIGHT, DATE OF BIRTH NOT KNOWN; STEP-MOTHER, LILLIAN,
APPROXIMATELY SIXTYSEVEN YEARS OLD, DATE OF BIRTH NOT KNOWN.
BOTH RESIDE EIGHT FIVE ONE EIGHT WILLIS AVENUE, PANARAMA
CITY, CALIFORNIA. MOTHER, BESSIE DIED NINETEEN SIXTYTHREE
IN NEW YORK CITY, APPROXIMATELY FORTY FOUR YEARS OLD. DATE
OF BIRTH NOT KNOWN. SISTER, LILLIAN O'SULLIVAN, BORN NEW
YORK CITY, DECEMBER NINETEEN FIFTEEN, EXACT DATE UNKNOWN.
RESIDES ONE SIX ONE SIX HAUSSELS AVENUE, LAS VEGAS, NEVADA.
MILITARY SERVICE, US ARMY, NINETEEN FORTYFOUR TO NINETEEN
FORTYSIX. SERIAL NUMBER NOT RECALLED. EDUCATION: BA,
CITY COLLEGE OF NEW YORK, NINETEEN FORTY.

END PAGE TWO

PAGE THREE

EMPLOYMENTS

NINETEEN FORTYSEVEN-NINETEEN FIFTYTWO, MANAGING EDITOR,
COMMENTARY MAGAZINE, NEW YORK CITY; NINETEEN FIFTYTHREE-
NINETEEN FIFTYNINE, CO-FOUNDER AND CO-EDITOR, ENCOUNTER MAGAZINE,
LONDON, FINANCED BY [REDACTED] NINETEEN FIFTYNINE-NINETEEN SIXTY,
EDITOR "THE REPORTER", NO LONGER IN EXISTENCE. NINETEEN
SIXTY-NINETEEN SIXTYNINE, EXECUTIVE VICE-PRESIDENT AND SENIOR
EDITOR FOR SOCIAL SCIENCES, BASIC BOOKS, INCORPORATED,
NOW SUBSIDIARY HARPER ROW, NEW YORK CITY. NINETEEN SIXTYTWO-
NINETEEN SIXTYSIX, NEW YORK CULTURAL CORRESPONDENT FOR
LONDON OBSERVER, EDITOR, MICHAEL DAVIE, LONDON. NINETEEN
SIXTYFOUR
~~SEVENTEEN~~ CO-FOUNDER AND CO-EDITOR OF QUARTERLY
JOURNAL OF URBAN AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS CAPTIONED "THE PUBLIC
INTEREST" WITH PROFESSOR DANIEL BELL, HARVARD UNIVERSITY.
NINETEEN SIXTYFOUR, REGENTS LECTURER, UNIVERSITY OF
CALIFORNIA AT RIVERSIDE. NINETEEN SIXTYSEVEN, CHAIRMAN,
FORD FOUNDATION, DELEGATION OF AMERICAN INTELLECTUALS
VISITING GERMANY, WITH PROFESSOR DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN.
NINETEEN SIXTYSEVEN, MEMBER RAND CORPORATION, STUDY GROUP,
END PAGE THREE

b7E

PAGE FOUR

SANTA MONICA, CALIFORNIA. NINETEEN SIXTYEIGHT, MEMBER VICE-PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY'S TASK FORCE ON INCOME MAINTENANCE, CHAIRMAN, JOSEPH PECHMAN, BROOKINGS INSTITUTE, WASHINGTON, DC. NINETEEN SIXTYEIGHT-NINETEEN SIXTYNINE, MEMBER PRESIDENT ELECTS TASK FORCE ON VOLUNTARY URBAN ACTION, CHAIRMAN, PROFESSOR EDWARD BANFIELD, UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA, PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA. NINETEEN SIXTYEIGHT, CO-CHAIRMAN ALONG WITH PROFESSOR DANIEL P. MOYNIHAN, CONFERENCE ON FUTURE OF NEW YORK CITY, SPONSORED BY NATIONAL AFFAIRS, INCORPORATED, FORD AND CARNEGIE FOUNDATIONS. NINETEEN SIXTY EIGHT-NINETEEN SIXTYNINE, RESEARCH ASSOCIATE, RUSSELL SAGE FOUNDATION, TWO THREE ZERO PARK AVENUE, NEW YORK CITY, PREPARING STUDY ON THE DEMOCRATIC IDEA IN AMERICA, WAS PUBLISHED BY HARPER AND ROW. NINETEEN SIXTYNINE, WROTE ESSAY "THE AMERICAN HISTORIAN AND AMERICAN DEMOCRACY" WHICH WAS DELIVERED TO THE ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN HISTORIANS IN MAY, NINETEEN SIXTYNINE. NINETEEN SIXTYNINE, HENRY R. LUCE, PROFESSOR OF URBAN VALUES AT NEW YORK UNIVERSITY.

HAS WRITTEN FIFTY ARTICLES FOR THE "NEW YORK TIMES" MAGAZINE, HARPERS, ATLANTIC MONTHLY, FOREIGN AFFAIRS, FORTUNE, COMMENTARY, ENCOUNTER AND THE PUBLIC INTEREST.

DURING NINETEEN SEVENTYONE, WENT TO EUROPE FOR USIA.

END PAGE FOUR

PAGE FIVE

REFERENCES AND ASSOCIATES

DANIEL P. MOYNIHAN, DANIEL BELL, SEYMOUR MARTIN LIPSET,
JAMES Q. WILSON, ALL PROFESSORS, HARVARD UNIVERSITY;
WILLIAM BUCKLEY, EDITOR, NATIONAL REVIEW, NEW YORK CITY;
DANIEL SELIGMAN, EDITOR, FORTUNE MAGAZINE, NEW YORK CITY;
LESTER BERNSTEIN, EDITOR, NEWSWEEK, NEW YORK CITY; ~~ERNEST~~ ROGER
STARR
~~5-44~~, NEW YORK CITY; ERNEST VANDENHAAG, NEW YORK CITY;
PROFESSOR SIDNEY HOOK, NEW YORK UNIVERSITY; PROFESSOR
ROBERT NISBET, UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA, TUSCON, ARIZONA;
[REDACTED] NATIONAL FOUNDATION FOR HUMANITIES, WASHINGTON,
DC; LEO ROSTEN, NEW YORK CITY; EDWARD BANFIELD, PROFESSOR,
UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA, PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA;
SENATOR HUBERT HUMPHREY; SENATOR JAMES BUCKLEY; A. R.
ROSENTHAL, EDITOR, "NEW YORK TIMES"; ALLEN GREENSPAN, NEW
YORK CITY; PROFESSOR MILTON FRIEDMAN, UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO;
PROFESSOR MARTIN DIAMOND, UNIVERSITY OF NORTHERN ILLINOIS,
DEKALB, ILLINOIS; PROFESSOR [REDACTED] CLAREMONT MENS
COLLEGE, CLAREMONT, CALIFORNIA.

b6
b7c

DUE TO URGENT NATURE OF REQUEST IT IS IMPERATIVE
DEADLINE BE MET WITHOUT FAIL. NO DELAY WILL BE TOLERATED.
ALL OFFICES CONDUCT APPROPRIATE INVESTIGATION. SPIN.
END

~~WA LAST PAGE END OF FIFTH LINE AND BEGINNING OF SIXTH SHOULD~~
~~READ. -- ROGER STARR --~~

GWS WASH DCL

ACK FO PLAY

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

NOV 09 1972

TELETYPE

018 BS PLAIN

8:22 PM NITEL 11-9-72 J W H

TO ACTING DIRECTOR

SAN FRANCISCO

FROM BOSTON (161-3223) (P)

| | |
|------------------|-------|
| Mr. Felt | _____ |
| Mr. Baker | _____ |
| Mr. Bishop | _____ |
| Mr. Callahan | _____ |
| Mr. Cleveland | _____ |
| Mr. Conrad | _____ |
| Mr. Dalkey | _____ |
| Mr. Gohardt | _____ |
| Mr. Jenkins | _____ |
| Mr. Marshall | _____ |
| Mr. Miller, E.S. | _____ |
| Mr. Parris | _____ |
| Mr. Soyars | _____ |
| Mr. Walters | _____ |
| Tele. Room | _____ |
| Mr. Kinlev | _____ |
| Mr. Armstrong | _____ |
| Ms. Herwig | _____ |
| Mrs. Neenan | _____ |

MR. MARTIN
ROOM 1246

IRVING KRISTOL, SPIN, BUDED NOVEMBER TEN NEXT.

RE NEW YORK TEL NOVEMBER EIGHT LAST.

BUREAU REQUESTED EXPEDITE INVESTIGATION OF
KRISTOL WHO IS BEING CONSIDERED FOR PRESIDENTIAL
APPOINTMENT, POSITION NOT STATED.

BORN JANUARY TWENTYTWO, TWENTY, AT NEW YORK
CITY. HE RESIDES AT NINETY RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW
YORK, NEW YORK.

REFERENCE SEYMOUR MARTIN LIPSET, PROFESSOR OF
GOVERNMENT AND SOCIAL RELATIONS, HARVARD UNIVERSITY
CAMBRIDGE, MASS., IS ON LEAVE FOR CURRENT YEAR. HE
CAN BE LOCATED AT CENTER FOR ADVANCED STUDY IN BEHAVIORAL
SCIENCES, TWO ZERO TWO JUNIPERO SERRA BOULEVARD,
STANFORD, CALIFORNIA, AND RESIDES ONE TWO NINE ZERO
DANA ST., PALO ALTO, CALIFORNIA, TELEPHONE 161-9153-4
END PAGE ONE

NOT RECORDED
NOV 28 1972

DEC 18 1972

BS 161-3223

PAGE TWO

FOUR ONE FIVE DASH THREE TWO SIX DASH EIGHT SIX
FIVE FIVE.

SAN FRANCISCO INTERVIEW LIPSET RE KRISTOL.

END

DWH FBI WASHDC

FOR THREE

CLR

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

NR008 NY PLAIN

NOV 09 1972

109PM URGENT 11-9-72 JAH

TELETYPE

TO ACTING DIRECTOR

CHICAGO

ST. LOUIS

FROM NEW YORK 161-4254 1P

| | |
|------------------|-------|
| Mr. Felt | _____ |
| Mr. Baker | _____ |
| Mr. Bishop | _____ |
| Mr. Callahan | _____ |
| Mr. Cleveland | _____ |
| Mr. Conrad | _____ |
| Mr. Dalbey | _____ |
| Mr. Gebhardt | _____ |
| Mr. Jenkins | _____ |
| Mr. Marshall | _____ |
| Mr. Miller, E.S. | _____ |
| Mr. Purvis | _____ |
| Mr. Soyars | _____ |
| Mr. Walters | _____ |
| Tele. Room | _____ |
| Mr. Kinley | _____ |
| Mr. Armstrong | _____ |
| Ms. Horwig | _____ |
| Mrs. Neenan | _____ |

IRVING KRISTOL, SPI, BUDED NOVEMBER TEN, NEXT,
WITHOUT FAIL

RE NEW YORK TEL, NOVEMBER EIGHT, LAST.

APPOINTEE ADVISED UNEMPLOYED APPROXIMATELY JUNE,
NINETEEN FORTY, TO DECEMBER, NINETEEN FORTY; RESIDING ONE
TWO NINE FIVE DE KALB AVENUE, BROOKLYN, NEW YORK. EMPLOYED
BROOKLYN NAVY YARD, APPROXIMATELY JANUARY, NINETEEN FORTYONE
TO SEPTEMBER, FORTYTHREE; RESIDING WITH WIFE AT FIVE FIVE
TWO FOUR KENWOOD AVENUE, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, WHILE SHE WAS
ATTENDING SCHOOL OCTOBER FORTYTHREE TO OCTOBER FORTYFOUR.
STATED WAS WAITING TO BE DRAFTED AND TOOK ONE YEAR FOR PAPERS
TO BE TRANSFERRED FROM BROOKLYN TO CHICAGO SELECTIVE SERVICE
BOARD. RECEIVING OFFICES CONDUCT APPROPRIATE INVESTIGATION.
P.

END

ACK FOR TWO PLS

007 008 JGM FBI WASHDC CLR

161-7155-5
NOT RECORDED

NOV 28 1972

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na

9-11-72

F B I

Date: 11/9/72

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: ACTING DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (161-4254)

SUBJECT: IRVING KRISTOL
SPECIAL INQUIRY
BUDED: 11/10/72

2 pages

Re NY teletype dated 11/8/72.

Files NYO contained copy of letter to editor of "New York Times" signed by IRVING KRISTOL with others, dated 2/9/60, captioned "To Free Gold and Sobell".

Part of this article reads "the second case is that of MORTON SOBELL. We agree with the jury that SOBELL-who protested his innocence-was guilty of espionage beyond a reasonable doubt, but we think that ten years is an ample sentence for what SOBELL actually did. Having served the term he should be released".

A copy of this article is attached hereto. The file also contained a copy of an article captioned "A Talk-In on Vietnam".

Mr. KRISTOL said in part "The United States is therefore in South Vietnam for exactly the same reason that it was involved in South Korea, to reaffirm principle of co-existence and the fact that military belligerency whether direct or indirect is not an acceptable procedure to achieve political goals in a nuclear armed world".

- 1 - Bureau (Encl. 3)
1 - New York

TLL:pml
(3)

ENCLOSURE
REC-6A
ST-113

NOV 11 1972

Spec. Inv.

Approved: *[Signature]*
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

NY 161-4254

Also contained in the files is a copy of an article captioned "U.S. to Tighten Surveillance of Radicals" which reads in part "The NIXON administration alarmed by what it regards as a rising tide of radical extremism, is planning to step up surveillance of militant left-wing groups and individuals". The article further reads "On March 12, the same day that bomb exploded in three Manhattan office buildings, Mr. NIXON met over dinner in the White House with IRVING KRISTOL, professor of urban values at New York University".

A copy of this article is attached.

ENCLOSURES (3)

TO BUREAU

IRVING KRISTOL
SPECIAL INQUIRY
BUDED: 11/10/72

Enclosed are copies of articles
captioned "To Free Gold and Sobell",
"U. S. to Tighten Surveillance of
Radicals", and "A Talk-In on Vietnam".

NY file 161-4254

Re NY airtel to Bureau, 11/9/72.

ENCLOSURE

161-9153-6

To Free Gold and Sobell

Believed in Guilt in View
Ten Years' Imprisonment

OF THE NEW YORK TIMES
We would like, with your permission, to direct your attention to cases of two men now serving sentences of thirty years' imprisonment for espionage. We feel that in both cases the sentences were excessive and that a full decade having passed—an act of clemency is now in order.

The first case is that of Harry Gold, who cooperated fully with the authorities in exposing Soviet espionage activities in this country, but who nevertheless (for reasons beyond our comprehension) received this extreme sentence. He now languishes in jail. While both Alvin Nunn May and Klaus Fuchs are far more important and significant figures than Gold, neither evidenced any noticeable change of heart; neither rendered any assistance to his Government; and yet they are now set free, while Gold remains in prison. We submit that this is an absurd injustice which ought to be remedied.

The second case is that of Morton Sobell. We agree with the jury that Sobell—who protests his innocence—is guilty of espionage beyond a reasonable doubt. But nothing that ten years' is an appropriate sentence for what Sobell actually did, and that having served the term, he should now be released.

Lack of Evidence

Sobell was tried together with Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, who were convicted of supplying atomic data to Soviet agents and were later executed. The only witness against him, Max Elitcher, stated merely that Sobell had tried, without success, to get military information from him for the benefit of the Soviet Union. Elitcher said nothing about atomic espionage, as Judge Kaufman admitted in sentencing Sobell: "The evidence in the case did not point to any activity on your part in connection with the atom bomb project."

This is why the late Judge Jerome Frank of the United States Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit dissented from the opinion of his two colleagues in upholding the verdict on Sobell.

In view of the fact that no atomic espionage was even alleged against him, and that the sole witness testified merely to unsuccessful attempts to procure information, we think that Sobell should now be released from prison.

(We do not mention David Greenglass, another principal involved in this case, whose testimony as a co-operative witness played a key role, because he was sentenced to fifteen years and has been eligible for parole for some time. His applications for parole have been uncharitably denied seven times. What we have said above applied *a fortiori* to him.)
NATHAN GLAZER, SIDNEY HOOK,
IRVING KRISTOL, DWIGHT MACDONALD.

New York, Feb. 9, 1960.

CLIPPING FROM THE

N. Y.

EDITION

DATED 2-16-60

PAGE 36

FORWARDED BY NY DIVISION

FORWARDED BY NY DIVISION

Quoted

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33

jet

**A Band of New York Intellectuals Meets
With Prof. Schlesinger For**

A Talk-In on Vietnam

HARDWICK—I left my glasses at home so I have to remember what I was going to say. Anyway . . . no one's going to make a speech.

The first question we are going to discuss is the basis for the American participation in Vietnam—the aggression against Vietnam, the domino theory and wars of liberation.

I guess I'll ask Irving Kristol what he has to say on that.

KRISTOL—I think there are really two issues here. One is the basis for American involvement in Asia and the second is America's involvement with Vietnam in particular.

I think our involvement in Asia, which is now being strongly criticized, goes back to the middle and late thirties. At that time, you may recall, we had a very long and arduous debate over what American national security meant. There were those we now call the isolationists who took a rather restricted view of American security. They said that whether or not Hitler or Russia won in Europe, or whether or not Japan won in Asia,

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America's specific national security would not be threatened in the sense that America as a nation could survive and the ideals it represented could survive.

I happen to think there was a great deal more substance to the position than present historians give it credit for. But the fact remains, that particular argument was settled with the outbreak of World War II when it was decided that the definition of our national security involved the United States as a world power. Namely, we must see to it that there exists the kind of world in which we can be secure—not merely that we can be secure in any kind of world.

So after World War II it was a settled principle of American foreign policy that everything possible within reason should be done to see that neither the continent of Europe nor the continent of Asia, in particular East Asia, should be dominated by a power hostile to the United States.

There is no reason for surprise in suddenly seeing large numbers of

American troops in Asia. In a sense, it was only an accident that these troops were not sent there before now.

As to why they are specifically in Vietnam, to put it in political terms, one can say that the United States is in South Vietnam in order to defend the principles of coexistence as these principles have emerged out of the cold war. To summarize these principles, they prescribe that no major power will intervene in the present status quo in such a way as to threaten a radical upset of the equilibrium.

Though this is a very precarious equilibrium, the Soviet Union and the United States seem to have worked out principles of coexistence which do at least minimize the chances of a world war and even the chances of local conflict. We have not yet worked out such an equilibrium vis-à-vis Communist China, which is the reason for the present situation in Southeast Asia.

The United States is therefore in South Viet-

nam for exactly the same reason that it was involved in South Korea: To reaffirm the principle of coexistence and the fact that military belligerency, whether direct or indirect, is not an acceptable procedure to achieve political goals in a nuclear-armed world.

HARDWICK — Well, Mr. Lynd, would you like to say something about that?

LYND—I'm inclined to feel that the analogy between Hitler's expansion and the expansion of Communism today is fundamentally mistaken. Therefore, I don't think the question of how we should respond to Communist expansion was settled in 1941.

The reason there's a difference, so it seems to me, is that at least in recent years, and certainly in Vietnam, the expansion of Communism has come about primarily through internal revolution rather than through marching of armies across borders.

I think this panel would probably agree that is the case with regard to the resistance movement against the French which resulted in the Communization of North Vietnam. In fact, it was precisely because the Communist-led resistance movement was so popular among the people of Vietnam that the United States, together with the Ngo Dinh Diem Government obstructed the [reunification] elections of 1956 which were agreed on at Geneva in 1954.

Probably there would be more controversy among us over whether the National Liberation Front is indeed leading an indigenous uprising. I incline to believe it is, as opposed to the theory that it was something plotted and planned in Hanoi.

The only fresh thing that I have from my trip on this subject is to assure you that the rhetoric of both the National Liberation Front and the Government of North Vietnam runs far more in terms of nationalism than in terms of Communism. They articulate their present struggle very much in the same terms that we articulated our revolution in the 19th century. They speak of having expelled the Japanese, having expelled the French, and now reluctantly facing the task of expelling the United States.

I recall U.L.F. interpreter in Prague to whom we spoke at a reception. He said, "You know, if the sky should fall after your troops withdraw that would still be a Vietnamese problem." Well, I think, is the heart of their attitude.

WALZER—I should have, by saying flatly that there's no basis for American intervention in Vietnam.

What has happened, I think, is that, as a result of World War II and of the collapse of the British and French empires, the United States has become probably the major imperial power in the world today. And we defend our empire, by and large, because that's what one does with empires. It is extraordinarily difficult to withdraw from an occupied position and it is perhaps especially difficult to withdraw from an occupied position because the loss of prestige that entails seems to frighten most politicians, especially liberal politicians.

We are there, then, because we're there. And I think that since 1954 there has been no adequate reason for our presence in Vietnam. I don't believe anyone seriously thought the domino theory was accurate even in 1954 when international Communism could plausibly be described as a significant danger to the West. Furthermore, I don't believe anyone in Washington has ever seriously believed, as Mr. Kristol has suggested, that there has been Chinese aggression in Vietnam or a Chinese effort to shake an equilibrium which had somehow been precariously established.

I really see no argument that makes any sense for our presence except a half-hearted and perhaps semiconscious commitment to hegemony in Southeast Asia, in Latin America, in the Mediterranean.

WILESINGER—Mr. Lynd may have done an injustice to Mr. Kristol. I don't think Mr. Kristol meant to compare the situation in Southeast Asia with the Nazi threat. Obviously these are very different things, and those who would draw any kind of facile analogy between the situation in Vietnam today and Munich or anything like that are kidding themselves.

I think what Mr. Kristol meant was that the American interest in the distribution of power in Asia was established in 1940 and, of course, this is quite true.

The reason the United States got into World War II was Indochina. It was the Japanese intervention in Indochina which led Franklin Roosevelt to order the freezing of the Japanese assets in the summer of 1941, and it was this which led the Japanese to make the attack on Pearl Harbor. It was Roosevelt's view that the domination of Southeast Asia by a single power would be contrary to American interests.

This does not mean any

kind of equation between what's happening in South Vietnam today and what the Nazis were doing. And I think Mr. Kristol should be spared from a mistaken identification with the Secretary of State on this point.

Now let me turn to the issue as to why we are there. Obviously in 1954, as part of our general program of international goodwill, it seemed a reasonable gamble that helping the Government in South Vietnam would be a policy that might work. I do not share the view of those who would have thought it a great triumph for American policy to deny assistance to the Government of South Vietnam or to other Governments you thought might have half a chance of developing a kind of self-sustaining independence.

We became implicated in South Vietnam for that reason. I think the historical questions, however, are less interesting. They are interesting to historians, but from the point of view of the problems of policy, the interesting question is: Having reached this stage of involvement, what do we do now?

Mr. Walzer believes that the single purpose of American policy is hegemony—a term he neglected to define—and that our purpose is to establish, I take it, an economic, political, heaven knows what, dominion over the rest of the world.

Now, in point of fact, if you looked at the international balance of payments situation, for example, it is a hegemony which has resulted in a much greater outflow than inflow of American capital in these years. It has not resulted in any extension of our territorial control.

Mr. Walzer is also very skeptical about the domino theory. The domino theory is a tenuous conception at best, and I disagree with those who feel that if we are driven out of South Vietnam, or if we get out, the dominoes will fall all the way to Malibu Beach or to the Mississippi River.

On the other hand, it is obviously nonsense to suppose that American expulsion from South Vietnam would not have effects in neighboring countries.

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I call particular attention to the question of Laos. In spite of Mr. Walzer's objection with the question of American hegemony, the American Government in 1961 renounced the policy of trying to build up Laos as a bulwark for the West and decided to support a neutralist Government in Laos.

Souvanna Phouma is making very gallant efforts to preserve the neutrality of Laos. And since there is no question what would happen if we precipitately were to pull out of Vietnam, Souvanna Phouma has made it very clear that he supports American policy in Vietnam—not to establish a pro-Western Laos, but an independent and neutralist Laos dependent on American support and looking forward, one hopes, to some kind of negotiated peace in South Vietnam. Lee Kuan Yew, the Prime Minister of Singapore, has made statements to the same effect.

So I think that, whereas the historical forms of the domino theory obviously are unacceptable, to suppose that a precipitate American withdrawal would not have an effect in South Vietnam and throughout Southeast Asia adverse to any evolution toward democracy is naive.

WALZER—I'd like to make a historical point. It's just not the case that the United States merely gave economic assistance to a Government in South Vietnam in 1954. The United States created a Government and connived with that Government to destroy the Geneva agreements. We set about creating not a democratic but an anti-Communist Government in South Vietnam.

LYND—Just one quick comment. I was interested to hear Mr. Schlesinger describe our policy toward South Vietnam in 1954 as part of our general program of international goodwill, since I understood him to say at the teach-in in Washington last May that what we did in South Vietnam in 1954 was very probably a mistake.

But, leaving that question aside, I agree with him that present matters are more important than those of the past, and I wonder how he would be inclined to describe our present policy in Vietnam, with the massive bombing of North Vietnam, the use of more or less toxic chemicals and gases, the substitution for that war which President Kennedy said had to be won by the people themselves of one being fought with 180,000 American troops. I wonder if he would still be inclined to describe our policy in Vietnam as part of our general program of international goodwill.

HARDWICK—Arthur, do you want to answer that?

SCHLESINGER—It's always seemed to me that bombing North Vietnam was a mistake. The pause in the bombing seems to be an excellent opportunity.

I certainly do not wish to put myself in the position of a defender of every action or every policy of the United States with regard to Vietnam. I think that since 1954, including the Kennedy years, our policy in Vietnam has been a series of misjudgments of one sort or another.

I disagree with Mr. Walzer who apparently regards these misjudgments as part of some international conspiratorial plan on the part of the United States to establish world hegemony. I think he underestimates the sheer fact that in Government other things were going on at the same time and Vietnam was never a critical issue.

The job now is not to propagate the theory of some sinister organized purpose in the

United States Government or the wickedness of the people in that Government but to understand that they are human beings like the people in this room. The problems aren't easy problems and they have a lot of other things they have to worry about.

If you were a historian, Mr. Walzer, you would know that every Government is a process of internal debate. I have had some years in the Government. Your description of what our Government is like does not correspond to the things I've seen.

KRISTOL—I suppose it would be fair to say that if the United States had it to do all over again it would not have got involved in Vietnam. You don't get involved in failures. No one likes that.

On the other hand, I think we overlook the importance of the domino theory if we fail to see that if the United States did not get involved in Vietnam there's a very good chance it would be involved elsewhere in Southeast Asia right now.

HARDWICK—Now I'm going to open this discussion to the audience to question the speakers and make their own little speeches, which is what always happens anyway.

MACDONALD [Dwight MacDonald, critic and essayist]—

I want to agree that with Mr. Kristol when he says that military belligerency is not an acceptable procedure. I think that's a fine thing.

Now I want to address my question to Mr. Schlesinger, who seems a little bit more open to reason. Mr. Schlesinger said that the interim between the present and 1954, roughly, was not ending only to history. Well, I thought he was a historian, but perhaps, Arthur, you now con-

sider yourself a political figure rather than a historian.

I would say that this interim is the interesting part because what happened in the interim, it seems to me, was that both Eisenhower and Kennedy had the same policy of not committing American troops.

This policy had become politically bankrupt, as I see it, about a year ago, and President Johnson was faced with an alternative. One choice was, obviously, to get out, pull out, give up, which I think almost everybody here, except perhaps Mr. Kristol and a few other people, wish the hell he had done. His other alternative was to get in much deeper and this is what he did of course.

Now this is what I want to ask Arthur. It seems to me that what Johnson tried to do was to recoup a political failure by military means. He felt that by increasing this military intervention we would be able to make up for a political failure.

In general, the lessons of history show that you cannot do this. Specifically, although we are winning this war in a military way, I wonder whether you think we can win it in a political way. In other words, can we possibly think of providing something to fill this political vacuum which obvi-

ously existed in South Vietnam since 1954? Can we provide some alternative to the Vietcong there?

SCHLESINGER—I would agree with nearly everything Dwight Macdonald said. And I would only say that the reasons the Johnson Administration undertook the policy of enlarging the military commitment have to be understood. One of the problems here is that people often do things at certain times which later do not work

out as they had hoped. Therefore they look ridiculous in retrospect.

At the time the military commitment was enlarged the war seemed to be going toward the Vietcong. And it was believed that so long as the Vietcong thought they were going to win the war, they obviously would not be interested in any kind of negotiated settlement. The only way we could move them toward negotiation was to persuade them that our commitment to South Vietnam was strong and solid enough so that they couldn't win the war.

This was a perfectly rational argument.

HOWE [Irving Howe, professor of English at Hunter College and editor of Dissent] —I want to come back to something Arthur Schlesinger said, that the people in Washington are people just like us. Now he knows that's absolutely not true. They're not just like us.

SCHLESINGER—Irving, you're wrong.

HOWE—We've known some of them and there's really a very great serious difference. I don't mean that they're all minions of a capitalist class. Some are. I mean they have a whole set of different ideo-

logical preconceptions and assumptions that distorted our whole Vietnam policy over the past 10 years. And they led to a disaster. Along with Diem, the people in Washington shared the same fatal incapacity: they're not very good at revolutions, to put it mildly.

The Communists succeeded in taking over a whole series of popular needs, demands, impulses, and so on. As a consequence, the United States and its allies in South Vietnam lost—and in a certain sense deserved to lose.

There was a phrase Dwight Macdonald used which would seem to me the key to the whole thing. He spoke of the effort to recoup by military means a political defeat. Now—domino theory or no domino theory—isn't it the sensible thing to recognize a defeat? Which means to negotiate with the N.L.F. and to face the unhappy consequences of that negotiation.

BROUGHTON [Shirley Broughton, choreographer] —Susan Sontag [the literary critic] is dying to say something.

HARDWICK —Oh, I'm sorry. I didn't hear you.

SONTAG—I'm not going to make a speech. I really want to ask a question. And it is of Irving Kristol because I'm very concerned that Mr. Kristol—whose views I don't share and I doubt a majority of the people in this audience share them—that he not be submerged in a kind of general left-wing consensus.

The few intelligent people that I've talked to in the Government have said exactly what he has said—that the fight in Vietnam is part of a global strategy and it has to do with a confrontation with China.

But the link between the Hanoi Government and China, or between the N.L.F. and China, was disputed by people in the audience and even by Mr. Schlesinger as well as by Mr. Lynd and Mr. Walzer. [Earlier, Schlesinger and Lynd were in substantial agreement on the origins of the war. They said the conflict began spontaneously in South Vietnam and Hanoi, for its own reasons, became increasingly and reluctantly involved. Now, said Schlesinger "Hanoi's involvement is very comparable to our own."] What I would like to know is whether Mr. Kristol still would hold to his thesis?

KRISTOL—Thank you, Susan. Yes, I disagree with both Mr. Schlesinger and Mr. Lynd, though they're both historians, and so it's presumptuous of me, I suppose. But I do disagree with their history of the revolution in South Vietnam, and the role of North Vietnam.

The North Vietnamese Government was not a reluctant participant but, for reasons which obviously are bound to be not entirely clear to us, decided that it was going to attempt to unify Vietnam through subversion and whatever minimum intervention was necessary.

SONTAG — Irving, I mean something more general, not just the possible collusion between Hanoi and Peking. I'm referring to the theory, which seems to be very common today, that we have to confront China. That China's an expansionist power; that the next war, if and when there is one, will be with China; that it's better to take a stand earlier than later. And even if China is not directly behind the Vietnamese war, if things can be turned in the way the American Government would like them to go, then this will be a rebuke to China; we'll enforce a kind of temporary containment of China.

KRISTOL—I think we are confronting China. And I think that what is happening in Southeast Asia is a kind of confrontation of China. The question is, will the political situation in Southeast Asia achieve that kind of stability that the situation in Europe has achieved. I think this kind of stability is [the goal of] American policy.

But I think the word confrontation is misleading. A confrontation is not necessarily a showdown. A confrontation means that we are involved in jockeying with China in Asia in order to establish some kind of tenable status quo.

Incidentally, I'd like to ask Irving Howe a question. It may be true that the people in Washington aren't very good at revolutions—I'm sure it's true. But I want to know what evidence you have that the people in New York are very good at revolutions?

IRVING—None.

WARDWICK — I think we'll have to move on a little bit to a discussion of the basis for negotiation or for ceasefire or for some sort of accommodation in this situation. You want to start on that, Mr. Lynd?

LYND—One gets the feeling that actually the negotiating positions have come very close, particularly since President Johnson's 4-point program with its acceptance of Geneva as a basis of negotiations and its recognition that the two areas—North and South Vietnam—will or may someday be reunified.

My overwhelming feeling at this point is that if it's true the negotiating positions are that close, let's talk with the N.L.F. and discover whether, having made that gesture, other aspects of the N.L.F. program—a coalition Government, elections in South Vietnam, the procedure of reunification—would become more subject to negotiation.

fication—would become more subject to negotiation.

SCHLESINGER — Oh, I'm in favor of doing that. It seems to me absurd to act as if the Vietcong are not a party to the situation. But I don't think we should be under any great illusions that dealing with the Vietcong is going to produce an enduring coalition Government which will lead the people of South Vietnam along progressive paths of freedom and justice. I think that if you want to bring the war to an end, as we must, we must deal with them. It's foolish not to.

I would think that the objective in South Vietnam is to work toward a settlement which will include the Vietcong, but attempt to build a coalition Government around neutralist forces. There are such forces in South Vietnam—the Buddhists, the students, a former Premier like Phan Huy Quat, and so on. The aim ought to be to strengthen them so if the Vietcong act according to the way a historian is compelled to believe they're going to act—if they act the way the Pathet Lao did in Laos in 1962 [break away from the coalition and resume guerrilla warfare]—there will be a structure in South Vietnam capable of containing them.

LYND—I think that if American troops withdraw—as I think they should withdraw—the outcome is likely to be, sooner or later, a Communist South Vietnam. And I would like to ask Mr. Schlesinger about his feeling as to whether the United States should insist on keeping troops in South Vietnam while the political dust settles there.

SCHLESINGER — The purpose of American policy must be a withdrawal with honor. That is, a withdrawal that will not abandon friends who've committed themselves in the expectation of our support to some kind of repression or massacre.

I don't think anyone here in this room should delude himself as to what a Vietcong victory in a Communist South Vietnam would mean. We've seen it in North Vietnam. And I would say—if Irving Howe will permit me to make another generalization about the people in this room—that the people like you in Saigon would be the first casualties of a Vietcong [victory in] South Vietnam. There's just no kidding ourselves about this.

HOWE—I think we are aware of that.

SCHLESINGER—And those who think the Vietcong are sort of the Southeast Asian wing of the Populist party—well, it isn't like that.

How would you achieve withdrawal with honor? One possibility, for example, might be to propose a phased withdrawal of American troops: one-third this year, one-third another year, one-third in three years. That kind of thing. Carry it through and give a chance for some kind of alternative to grow and then, if by that time it doesn't work—it doesn't work.

This is a view which has substantial support within the American Government, just as there is another view within the Government that we can find our way to glory. The notion that the American Government is any more united on the subject of Vietnam than the people in this room are is an illusion of those who like tidy views of history.

WALZER—I entirely agree with the solution which Mr. Schlesinger now urges. But it was available to us literally every year since 1954, had we ever been willing to accept it.

We have not been willing to accept participation of the Vietcong in a Government of the South and we have killed many, many people to prevent that outcome. And now are we to think that we would accept it quite that easily? I am frankly much more pessimistic about the likely outcome of peace moves than I

HARRIS—Mr. Lynd, how do you feel about it?

LYND—The people in Hanoi feel that the President's offer of unconditional negotiations has been anything but unconditional. They feel that until the last few weeks—and very possibly even now—the United States has insisted on a South Vietnam that would not be Communist. By hook or crook, Geneva agreements or no Geneva agreements, we were determined to prevent that from happening.

Second, despite our commitment to the principle of eventual military withdrawal, we have 180,000 American troops there and very little has been said specifically from the American side about our readiness to take those troops out in any immediate future.

Third of course, there has been the implicit condition that we would not negotiate with the N.L.F. Looking at it from their point of view, they have a very reasonable case in saying that the offer of so-called unconditional negotiations has in fact not been so.

SCHLESINGER—May I make a couple of very brief comments on Mr. Lynd's and Mr. Walzer's points?

I think the peace offensive was supported by the group in the Government which sought a political solution and which felt that once it was started it would achieve a life of its own and transform the situation. The [peace offensive] was acquiesced in by those in the Government who believe in a military solution, who thought [the negotiations] wouldn't get anywhere and this would clear the boards for further military action.

I think the fact that the President himself was for the peace offensive was shown by the people who were sent out—Harriman and Bundy and Goldberg and Mennen Williams. You can see very quickly the kind of team that might have been sent out if he didn't want the negotia-

I think the moves toward negotiations have developed a life of their own. I believe we are moving toward a qualitative transformation of the situation from which it's going to be hard to retreat.

Mr. Walzer asked a very fair question: Why weren't these proposals made at a much earlier point? Only as a succession of changes in the Saigon Government showed the increasing lack of vitality and reality did the situation arise that something new should be done. No doubt if we'd made this offer in 1954 or 1953 it would have been better. But given the best alternatives one has at the time—and a person who had to decide policies doesn't have the advantage of knowing how everything is going to happen—I think it's reasonable to understand at least why the offer was not made 10 years ago. I see no reason why we didn't reach this point six months ago.

WALZER—I very much hope Mr. Schlesinger is right. What makes that so difficult to believe is that there appear to be no political forces in the South that can pick up the pieces of American prestige and power once the soldiers have left. I would guess that South Vietnam would go Communist very quickly if there were a genuine settlement. A phased withdrawal of American troops would prevent that until the last phase.

SCHLESINGER—It seems to me that on this question of what's going to happen, the only persuasive comment I've seen is by the most sagacious political

philosopher of our time, Art Buchwald. In a recent column he proposed a plan with free elections in both North and South Vietnam. South Vietnam... I have a tremendous victory, if the Vietcong, who would then establish Ho Chi Minh in Saigon; North Vietnam would have a tremendous victory of pre-democratic forces. He'd transfer Government capitals and achieve perfect settlement.

HARDWICK—Any question or remarks from the audience?

UNIDENTIFIED MAN—I'd like to submit one reason why I think we're in Vietnam. I think that in a country which spends \$50-billion a year for defense you've got to have an enemy. Well, we can't get Europe excited about Russia any more so we created China. It's completely irrational.

I'd like to submit that our reason for being in South Vietnam is to maintain a base to continue our encirclement of China. Could anybody comment on that?

KRISTOL—I assume that any United States general who wants a military base in South Vietnam is out of his cotton-picking mind, and I don't believe the generals do. We have military bases in Guam, we have military bases in the Philippines.

Besides, there is one thing that unites the people in this room and the people in Washington. The Pentagon just hates the idea of fighting a ground war in Asia. This has never been part of their plans. It doesn't allow them to use all of their modern equipment; it's a dirty war, an intensely unpopular kind of war.

HARDWICK—Well, what kind

of war would they want to fight?

KRISTOL—Well, I think they like bombing wars on the whole.

HARDWICK—When President Johnson said that we would give our soldiers support of every kind with all weapons, what do you think he meant? That was an ominous note, I thought.

KRISTOL—I would like to comment further on that last question because there was another point in it which seemed to me so preposterous that I can't believe it was meant seriously: That the American defense industry has gone around the world creating enemies which shouldn't exist in order to keep itself going.

First Germany, then Russia and now China are figments of the imagination of American munitions makers. I can only say I guess I'm getting very old. I happen to believe in the reality of Hitler and Stalin and Mao. I do not think they were the inventions of Du Pont.

HARDWICK—Muriel Rukeyser [the poet], did you want to ask a question or say something?

RUKEYSER—I wonder about the meanings behind some of the things that have been called economic and military. What happens to us emotionally about them?

I remember Lord Franks [former British Ambassador to Washington] in '63 saying to me: "We got over Suez. Why are you so upset about Cuba?"

What happens about the inversion of war in our time? What can be done with this energy that has all become hostile?

SCHLESINGER—If I may ven-

ture a comment, it's a mistake and a dangerous form of reductionism to suppose that public policies represent a solution of individual anxiety, nor do I think they are a consequence of it. I think it's really a metaphor, Miss Rukeyser, to which political commentators are sometimes addicted.

The amount of frustration and anxiety is fairly consistent at any time in any society and our governments make all kinds of different decisions. I don't think people go to war because they're maladjusted.

HARDWICK—I think that question gets us rather into the third part of the program, which is the moral and social meaning for us—for America—of our involvement in this war.

LYND—It seems to me that Miss Rukeyser's question raises the problem of America's saving face. But the thing that really worries me is a feeling we're going to hang on in South Vietnam not so much because we're merely afraid to lose face if we withdraw, but because we feel that we honestly don't know how to deal with this phenomenon of revolution in the underdeveloped world. It's that lack of confidence, that inner sense of desperation, which I believe exists in the American Government that frightens me most.

SCHLESINGER—Commenting as the most recent fugitive from the American Government present, I never was aware of that as a major emotion in the Government when I was there.

UNIDENTIFIED MAN—Don't you think the situation has changed seriously since you left Washington?

SCHLESINGER—I don't think there have been changes of all sorts but my own impression is that the last President Johnson wants to see a large American. The question isn't really very important to him. As he is used to having remarked on a class occasion: "I don't want to save my face, I just want to save my —."

HARDWICK—I can't, being a lady, use that word, but does he conceive of that portion of himself as extending all the way to Southeast Asia?

SCHLESINGER—No. It's just a metaphor. If I can decode his metaphor I would suggest that all this talk of face-saving tries to give the impression that rather serious problems of international relations are really a matter of etiquette.

I think there's a tendency to suppose that the other side is filled with virtuous people, doesn't like the war, really wants to bring it to a end and have a kind of Utopia.

LYND—It's frustrating to be in an interview with a North Vietnamese representative and an interpreter who hear the Vietnamese talk in the soft, musical sound of their language and to find out this is surely a peaceful nature, and then when the interpreter puts it into English it comes out "hens and running dogs."

On the other hand, we have to realize, I think, that they are confused over how to interpret our signals.

HARDWICK—Any questions from the audience?

BRINGTON—Norman Mailer [the novelist] would like to say something.

HARDWICK—Oh, good.

MAILER—Arthur, I'd like to ask you a question. If you are interested in saving his —, why did he take it over there to get bitten?

SCHLESINGER—Historical explanations are possible. . . . We're there for the same reason a person gets caught in quicksand.

All these things are gambles. For example, the more venerable among us, like Dwight Macdonald or Bill Phillips [an editor of Partisan Review], remember the fight in 1947 and 1948 about the so-called Truman Doctrine. Many good people got terribly excited over the iniquity of the American Government in giving support to a wicked, reactionary, right-wing, Fascist, etc., Government in Greece. Now it so happens there was a crisis for that kind of support.

Greece isn't the most stable or dependable country in the world. Still, how can anyone

in this room question that if you were a Greek—you would be infinitely better off in the kind of Greece that the Truman Doctrine made possible than if we had taken the view at the time that we shouldn't do anything about it and let Greece become something like the kind of country that Bulgaria is today?

Now a lot of people, some of them in this room, no doubt, and with whom I argued at the time, were absolutely certain that we couldn't do anything in Greece. But history is very indeterminate. You never know what the hell is going to happen. And you have to try. And when you make a mistake you have to decide ways of getting out of it. Retrospect is easier than determining policy.

HARDWICK—But isn't it cynical to talk about having a little gamble in Vietnam when it really means killing people, destroying their country? I find that shocking.

SCHLESINGER—Let me say that's the first time I've ever

succeeded in shocking you in my life. I would just say that if the word gamble is offensive I will withdraw it.

HARDWICK—You know wars are silly, now, Arthur. Everybody knows that. They are utterly ridiculous.

SCHLESINGER—Our mission in Vietnam originally was not military. Are you sorry that we intervened in Greece?

HARDWICK—Well, I can't go back that far. It seems to me that was different anyway.

SCHLESINGER—You're too young to remember.

HARDWICK—No, I'm too old to remember.

MAILER—Arthur, what would

have happened if Greece had gone Communist?

SCHLESINGER — Nothing would have happened.

MAILER — The Communist party would have to deal with profound homosexuality in the student parties. It would have had to deal with various Greek notions of love as they have come down imperfectly through the centuries. What would have happened is that Communism would have had to digest much more than it was equipped to digest. For what's going on now is that Greece is under the exploitation of British homosexuals.

SCHLESINGER — Well, from your interpretation, I see that whatever happens the homosexual will triumph.

MAILER — My interpretation is that you don't have to fight Communism by fighting it. If there's something drastically wrong with it, as I suspect there is, it will defeat itself in the way that all arrivistes defeat themselves; they cannot deal with the mixture of their own vulgarity and great new wealth, you see. The only time an arriviste is happy is when he's fighting his way upward through society. When he arrives he has crises. Psychoanalysis came into being because a great many arrivistes arrived during the 19th century.

SCHLESINGER — You may be right in the long run, but in the long run, as [John Maynard] Keynes used to say, we are all dead. And I think you ought to think of those people who are alive now.

For the Greeks, however much we may reconcile our-

selves to this, it would not have been a happy two years until the homosexuals and the psychiatrists sapped the fiber of the new ruling class.

HARDWICK — A question here.

UNIDENTIFIED MAN — I have found in this whole discussion an attitude toward Communism as being a monolithic kind of organization. Now I could conceive, for example, that you could have a democratic type of Communist state and you could also have a dictatorial Communist state.

KRISTOL — I'm violently opposed to the United States going to war against any democratic Communist regime. I agree in the abstract there's no reason why Communist regimes needn't have greater variety. I look forward to the day when they do. What else can I say?

HARDWICK — It's after 11 o'clock. Well, maybe one last topic. Did the opposition in America to the war have any effects at all, either on us or on the Government or on the world, either good or bad? Arthur, did it have any effects on the Government?

SCHLESINGER — I think some forms of the opposition did. I think that the senatorial opposition and a certain amount of the opposition in the intellectual community has had a genuine effect. I think the President's Johns Hopkins speech, which should have been given many months earlier, was given when it was in part because of that opposition.

I think the demonstrations have had very little effect ex-

cept to embarrass those people in the Senate who were fighting this fight. One of the leaders in the fight against present policy in Vietnam told me the other day: "If these demonstrations keep up, the only result they're going to have is silencing the senatorial opposition." [Boos and gasps.] Look, are you denying that he said this to me? I'm just reporting it. This is a man who has fought very bravely.

HARDWICK — What do you think?

SCHLESINGER — I have no question that the opposition has had a very useful role. I think that form of the opposition which gives great pleasure to the discharge of personal emotions may not be the kind that's going to be most effective in the real world.

HARDWICK — Would you think it was a good and comfortable country in which there were no demonstrations of students and people who were going to be drafted against the war?

SCHLESINGER — No. You asked me whether I thought

these demonstrations were effective in producing results the demonstrations tried to get.

I believe in everybody having views and I believe if you have a view—an idea—is where we may differ—and you are anxious to have that view have impact you try to advance that view in a way that will have impact and not in a way that produces a national orgasm for yourself.

There is no question—I will repeat it—that on balance the opposition to the war has played a very useful role, but the form in which it has played a useful role in which the arguments are effective and not when the manifestations are hysterical.

RUKEYSER—Do you think then that demonstrating is hysterical and the war is not hysterical?

SCHLESINGER—I think some demonstrations are hysterical and some wars are hysterical. All the people who feel so moral about killing people did not feel this way in 1941 when it was a matter of killing Germans and Japanese.

RUKEYSER—Yes, but aren't we making a political point in Vietnam and isn't it a mature way to make a political point by demonstrating?

SCHLESINGER—If there are people here in this room who think it's a mature way to make a point in foreign policy, . . . I don't happen to think so. You may think so.

I think the speeches of Senators Church, McGovern, Fulbright, Robert Kennedy and so on, have had more influence in changing policy than the March on Washington. If the point is to be effective, you don't carry Vietcong banners. That's all. Moreover, I will say that anyone who really thinks that life will be better with a Vietcong victory has no claim for any moral position of any sort.

LYND—No, but, Mr. Schlesinger, if it's permissible for policy makers to gamble and not always to be sure what's going to be effective, can't ordinary citizens have that same right?

SCHLESINGER—Absolutely, but I was asked what was effective and what wasn't. I tried to answer that question. . . . It's a hard life.

WAS: 10.

...d the Presi

over with welfare, electoral or draft reforms or by White House appeals. It wouldn't make a bit of difference if Johnson and racism ended overnight," said a highly placed Nixon assistant. "We're not dealing with the criminal mind of the people who have

have concluded. Continued on Page 69, Column 2

1. Name of person, name of
company, city and st.

Date: 4-2-70

Edition:

j Author:

Editor:

Title:

Character:

of

Classification:

Submitting Office:

☐ Being Investigated

100-148047A

INDEXED
FILED

1. W. J. W.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

NOV 09 1972

TELETYPE

NR05 SL PLAIN

3:33PM URGENT 11-9-72 WBS

TO ACTING DIRECTOR

FROM ST. LOUIS (161-C) RUC 2P

IRVING KRISTOL, AKA. SPECIAL INQUIRY. BUDED NOV. TEN, NEXT.

RE NEW YORK TEL. TO BUREAU NOV. EIGHT, LAST AND ST. LOUIS TEL.
TO BUREAU NOV. NINE, INSTANT.

REVIEW NOVEMBER NINE, INSTANT OF MILITARY RECORDS, NPRC-M,
ST. LOUIS, MO., INDICATED KRISTOL, SERIAL NUMBER THREE SIX
NINE ONE NINE EIGHT EIGHT THREE, INDUCTED AND ENTERED IN U.S.
ARMY OCTOBER SIXTEEN, FORTY-FOUR, CHICAGO, ILL. HONORABLY
DISCHARGED AUGUST TEN, FORTY-SIX, AS STAFF SERGEANT, FORT
SHERIDAN, ILL.

FOREIGN SERVICE EUROPEAN THEATRE OF OPERATIONS AND AWARDED
WORLD WAR TWO VICTORY MEDAL, EUROPEAN AFRICAN MIDDLE EASTERN
CAMPAIGN MEDAL, ARMY OCCUPATION MEDAL, GOOD CONDUCT MEDAL
AND PURPLE HEART MEDAL.

SATISFACTORILY COMPLETED FOUR WEEK LIBRARY SCIENCE COURSE
WHILE IN EUROPEAN THEATRE OF OPERATIONS DURING NINETEEN FORTY-
END PAGE ONE

| | |
|------------------|-------|
| Mr. Felt | _____ |
| Mr. Baker | _____ |
| Mr. Bishop | _____ |
| Mr. Callahan | _____ |
| Mr. Cleveland | _____ |
| Mr. Conrad | _____ |
| Mr. Dalbey | _____ |
| Mr. Gebhardt | _____ |
| Mr. Jenkins | _____ |
| Mr. Marshall | _____ |
| Mr. Miller, E.S. | _____ |
| Mr. Purvis | _____ |
| Mr. Soyars | _____ |
| Mr. Walters | _____ |
| Tele. Room | _____ |
| Mr. Kinley | _____ |
| Mr. Armstrong | _____ |
| Ms. Herwig | _____ |
| Mrs. Neenan | _____ |

ROOM 1248

161-9153-8

NOV 20 1972

58 DEC 18 1972

PAGE TWO

FIVE.

CONDUCT AND EFFICIENCY RATINGS RANGED FROM SATISFACTORY TO
EXCELLENT AND NO RECORD COURT MARTIAL OR AWOL.

DATE AND PLACE OF BIRTH SHOWN JANUARY TWENTYTWO, TWENTY,
AT BROOKLYN, NEW YORK.

NO REPORT BEING SUBMITTED AT ST. LOUIS.

END

GWS WASH DC

CLR AND C AD ACK FOR ONE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

NOV 09 1972

TELETYPE

NR03 SL PLAIN

12:40PM URGENT 11-9-72 WBS

TO ACTING DIRECTOR

ALEXANDRIA

LOS ANGELES

NEW YORK

WASHINGTON FIELD

FROM ST. LOUIS (161-C) P 3P

CHANGED. IRVING KRISTOL, AKA IRVING WILLIAM KRISTOL: SPI. BUDED
NOV. TEN, NEXT, WITHOUT FAIL.

TITLE CHANGED TO INCLUDED NAME IRVING WILLIAM KRISTOL AS INDI-
CATED IN FILES OF NATIONAL PERSONNEL RECORDS CENTER-CIVILIAN
(NPRC-C), ST. LOUIS, MO.

REBUTEL NOVEMBER THREE, LAST, AND BUAIRTEL TO WASHINGTON FIELD
OFFICE NOVEMBER THREE, LAST.

RECORDS, NPRC-C, ST. LOUIS, MO., DISCLOSED IRVING WILLIAM
KRISTOL EMPLOYED BY NAVY DEPARTMENT, U.S. NAVY YARD, NEW YORK,
NY, FROM AUGUST TWENTYTHREE, NINETEEN FORTY, TO JANUARY TWENTYSEVEN,
NINETEEN FORTYFOUR, AS APPRENTICE MACHINIST, CHECK NUMBER THREE SIX
SEVEN ZERO TWO, AND AS INTERMEDIATE MACHINIST, CHECK NUMBER THREE

END PAGE ONE

NOV 28 1972

57 DEC 21 1972

Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Baker _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Cleveland _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Dalbey _____
Mr. Gebhardt _____
Mr. Jenkins _____
Mr. Marshall _____
Mr. Miller, E.S. _____
Mr. Parris _____
Mr. Soyars _____
Mr. Walters _____
Tele. Room _____
Mr. Kinley _____
Mr. Armstrong _____
Mr. Herwig _____
Mr. Neenan _____

MR. MARTIN
ROOM 1246

ST-113 REC-64

161-9153-9

MCI-31

PAGE TWO

SL 161-NPRC-C

SIX ZERO SIX THREE. TERMINATED BY REASON OF RESIGNATION,
'I WISH TO ENTER THE ARMED SERVICES, AND TO SPEND WHATEVER I HAVE
PRIOR TO INDUCTION COMPLETING CERTAIN URGENT PERSONAL AFFAIRS.'
RECORDS INDICATED THAT RELEASE REQUIRED UNDER WORLD WAR TWO MANPOWER
CONTROLS WAS WITHHELD AS HIS SERVICES WERE NEEDED AT THE NAVY YARD.

FOLLOWING DISCIPLINARY ACTIONS WERE NOTED: FEBRUARY FOUR,
FORTYTWO, LETTER OF WARNING FOR FAILURE TO ATTAIN PASSING MARK IN
APPRENTICE TRAINING COURSE. AUGUST SEVENTEEN, FORTYTHREE, LETTER
OF ADMONISHMENT FOR ABSENCE WITHOUT PERMISSION ON JULY THIRTYONE,
FORTYTHREE. AUGUST TEN, FORTYTHREE, LETTER OF WARNING FOR EXCESSIVE
ILLNESSES OR ABSENCES DUE TO MINOR INDISPOSITIONS DURING PERIOD
FROM APRIL SEVEN TO JULY TWENTY, FORTYTHREE. DECEMBER THIRTEEN,
FORTYTHREE, SUSPENSION FROM DUTY WITHOUT PAY FOR THREE DAYS FOR
ABSENCE WITHOUT AUTHORITY ON NOVEMBER TWENTYTWO, FORTYTHREE, AND
FAILING TO REPLY TO OFFICIAL CORRESPONDENCE.

FOLLOWING FORMER ADDRESSES WERE LISTED IN RECORDS: ONE TWO NINE
FIVE DE KALB AVE., BROOKLYN, NY (NINETEEN FORTY). ONE NINE SIX
SEVEN EIGHTYFIRST ST., BROOKLYN, NY (NINETEEN FORTYTHREE).

BIRTH DATA SHOWN AS JANUARY TWENTYTWO, NINETEEN TWENTY, AT NEW
YORK CITY, NY.

END PAGE TWO

SL 161-NPRC-C

PAGE THREE

SUPERVISORS WERE LISTED IN RECORDS AS [REDACTED] AND

b6
b7C

[REDACTED]
NO REPORT BEING SUBMITTED BY ST. LOUIS, UACB.

NEW YORK DIVISION REQUESTED TO CONDUCT APPROPRIATE INVESTIGATION.

END

JGM FBI WASHDC CLR

PLAIN

NR 008 LV CODE

8:33 PM NITEL 11-9-72 RHJ

TO ACTING DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM LAS VEGAS (161-259) (RUC)

1P

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

NOV 09 1972

TELETYPE

MR. MARTIN
ROOM 1246

| | |
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| Mr. Felt | _____ |
| Mr. Baker | _____ |
| Mr. Bishop | _____ |
| Mr. Callahan | _____ |
| Mr. Cleveland | _____ |
| Mr. Conrad | _____ |
| Mr. Dalbey | _____ |
| Mr. G. J. Galt | _____ |
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| Mr. Marshall | _____ |
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| Mr. P. J. ... | _____ |
| Mr. Soyars | _____ |
| Mr. Walters | _____ |
| Tele. Room | _____ |
| Mr. Kinley | _____ |
| Mr. Armstrong | _____ |
| Ms. Herwig | _____ |
| Mrs. Neenan | _____ |

b6
b7C

IRVING KRISTOL, SP, BUDED NOVEMBER TEN NEXT.

RE NEW YORK TELETYPE TO BUREAU, NOVEMBER EIGHT LAST.

ON NOVEMBER NINE, INSTANT, A REVIEW OF THE RECORDS OF THE LAS VEGAS POLICE DEPARTMENT AND THE CLARK COUNTY SHERIFF'S OFFICE, LAS VEGAS, NEVADA, DISCLOSED NO RECORD IDENTIFIABLE WITH IRVING KRISTOL'S SISTER, LILLIAN O'SULLIVAN. ON NOVEMBER NINE, INSTANT, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] LAS VEGAS, NEVADA, ADVISED THAT HE CONSIDERED LILLIAN O'SULLIVAN'S CHARACTER BEYOND REPROACH. [REDACTED] KNEW NOTHING UNFAVORABLE CONCERNING HER CHARACTER, LOYALTY, OR ASSOCIATIONS. [REDACTED] STATED THAT HE HAS KNOWN LILLIAN O'SULLIVAN AND HER HUSBAND [REDACTED] SINCE THE TIME THEY MOVED INTO THE RESIDENCE ADJACENT TO HIS APPROXIMATELY TWO AND ONE HALF YEARS AGO. INVESTIGATION REPORTED BY NITEL TO MEET BUREAU DEADLINE UACB.

END

CORRECTION ON THIS ONE - PLS CROSS OUT CODE AND PUT "PLAIN"

DEC 18 1972

NOT RECORDED
NOV 28 1972

F B I

Date: 11/10/72

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

(Priority)

TO: ACTING DIRECTOR, FBI
FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (161-4254)
SUBJECT: IRVING KRISTOL
SPECIAL INQUIRY
BUDED: 11/10/72

ReNYteletype, 11/10/72.

The Wall Street Journal contained an article captioned, "Irving Kristol and Friends" by ROBERT L. BARTLEY. This article in part read as follows: "How to designate this body of thought or thinkers is admittedly a difficulty. 'The Public Interest crowd' is serviceable enough for some purposes, but the magazine carries many other writers as well, and others outside its immediate circle are coming to parallel conclusions". A copy of this article is enclosed.

The October, 1972 issue of the Wall Street Journal contained an article captioned, "The New Road for the Democrats", which read in part as follows: "So I see no prospect of any return to 'politics as normal' after November. The destiny of the Democratic Party is in the hands of a movement committed to what, by yesterday's standards, would be called the politics of irresponsibility." A copy of this article is enclosed.

1-Bureau (Encls. ~~5~~)
1-New York

TLL: jas
(3)

ST-113

REC-64

NOT RECORDED

11 NOV 13 1972

Approved: 

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

NY 161-4254

The September 14, 1972, issue of the Wall Street Journal reflected that IRVING KRISTOL, Henry Luce Professor of Urban Values at New York University, was a member of the Board of Contributors of the Wall Street Journal. He contributed an article captioned, "Why Jews Turn Conservative", which read in part as follows: "One can sum up the matter in this way. Jews are perceiving an identity of interests between (a) the preservation of liberal values and institutions, and (b) Jewish survival." A copy of this article is enclosed.

MAY 3

1972

Irving Kristol and Friends

MAY 3

1972

By ROBERT L. BARTLEY

As establishment liberalism blurred into radicalism in the middle and late 1960s, the most telling opposition came not from those we usually call conservatives but from another distinct group of thinkers that is distinctly identifiable but lacking a good label.

To measure which criticism tells, look at the reactions of the criticized. The Nixon adviser most maligned in liberal circles was not a conventional right-winger, but Daniel Patrick Moynihan. In the radical-liberal book reviews, the most hated book of recent times was not anything by William F. Buckley Jr., but Edward C. Banfield's "The Unheavenly City." Of the same people the wife of an Ivy League department chairman remarks to a young dinner guest-job applicant, "You don't mention names like that if you want to be hired in this department."

Such is the perverse homage paid to critics who not merely sting, but bite, to critics who are a real threat. In fact, "names like that," along with others like James Q. Wilson, Robert Nisbet and Nathan Glazer, represent a new intellectual school, composed of a somewhat ironical alliance of empirical social scientists and classical philosophers attuned to an almost-forgotten conservatism. The best place to follow its development has been in the pages of that incomparable quarterly, *The Public Interest*.

An Incisive Commentary

Now (one might say at last) we have a collection of essays from a singular member of the school, Irving Kristol, co-editor of *The Public Interest* and Henry Luce Professor of Urban Values at New York University. His "On the Democratic Idea in America" (Harper & Row, 149 pages, \$5) is a brilliant and incisive commentary on our times, and also a valuable tool in understanding the wider intellectual movement.

Mr. Kristol's essays are valuable, for one thing, in putting the proper emphasis on the philosophical side of the alliance. As the two contemporary thinkers who have most influenced him he lists Lionel Trilling, the famous literary critic who first wrote of "the adversary culture," and Leo Strauss, the great Aristotelian scholar at the University of Chicago. And through the essays, in particular those on urban civilization, the shaking foundations of the West and the problems of capitalist society, run the ancient philosophical themes we so seldom see today: the nature of man and society, the question of virtue and the importance of underlying values.

The essays are equally valuable, though, as a primer in the central themes Mr. Kristol shares with the rest of his school. A society, culture or civilization is ultimately held together not by its formal institutions but by informal things—traditions, values, feelings and expectations shared by its citizens and imposing on them certain disciplines.

Thus the problems of society may stem not from material conditions or its formal institutions but directly from the more important informal variables. In particular, the present distress of the United States and other Western democracies arises from the erosion of values and traditions that have held them together. The most obvious manifestation of this erosion is the spread of the adversary culture, the growth of traditional intellectual hostility to capitalist society into a powerful and self-perpetuating force that undermines the authority and legitimacy any society needs to operate.

This view of society also suggests the immense difficulty of reform by rational prescription. Things are always so much more complex than they look. They have evolved that way through cut-and-fit adaptation, and those who follow rational prescriptions do not understand with what they tinker.

Mr. Kristol does not carry this as far as other members of the school might, though he says "the unanticipated consequences of social action are always more important, and usually less agreeable, than the intended consequences." He believes reforms are necessary, but not reforms intended to change the material conditions of life but to produce institutions that incorporate, stress and reinforce the values and traditions important to society. He calls for a "combination of the reforming spirit with the conservative ideal."

How to designate this body of thought or thinkers is admittedly a difficulty. "The Public Interest crowd" is serviceable enough for some purposes, but the magazine carries many other writers as well, and others outside its immediate circle are coming to parallel conclusions. For its own purposes, the circle solves the problem well enough; a fellow member is "a sensible person," or more likely "one of the few sensible persons around." You don't describe yourself that way, though, and various individuals are forced to formulations like "radical centrist" or "neo-Whig."

In his book Mr. Kristol says his ideas add up to only "an equivocal" political position. Another member of the group says it "isn't left or right or center—it is to be located only by means of a more complex set of concepts." And some of its members will still be uncomfortable with any variant of the word conservative.

The Heritage of Burke

Still, the words—self-discipline, authority, legitimacy, values, virtue—are profoundly conservative ones. And the themes come not only from Aristotle but almost straight from the pages of Edmund Burke, whose ideas the word conservative was coined to describe. This is a heritage that deserves to be emphasized and reclaimed.

Thus Herman Kahn, one of those outside *The Public Interest* group who sounds parallel themes, speaks of the emergence of "conservationists: trying to conserve old values, but not necessarily interested in the economic and political emphasis of 'Landon' or

'Goldwater.' " A less contrived and awkward term has also sometimes been used to connote both a Burkean heritage and a central purpose of conserving society and its values. This term is "neo-conservative," and while I do not know who first used it in this context, it seems to fit best.

In particular, "neo-conservative" is useful in making a needed contrast. Despite the heritage of the pertinent themes, they are not the ones we normally associate with contemporary American conservatism. They are occasionally found in the pages of *The National Review*, to be sure, but other and perhaps contradictory themes leave them muted and confused. The neo-conservative themes speak so plainly to our day, indeed, that it is something of a mark against American conservatism that sounding them is left to a group

placed with apostate liberals and radicals.

One must give credit where it is due, of course, and anyone who values conservative ideas of any sort owes a deep debt to Mr. Buckley. His talent and enterprise have succeeded in making clear that another tradition does exist as an alternative to the dominant liberalism. Without his skill and verve even that much probably would not be clear outside of a few cloisters here and there.

Yet so often those who claim the word conservative are not followers of Burke but of Adam Smith. So often you find not skepticism about rationalist reformers, but the prescription of laissez faire not merely as a marvelously efficient economic device but as a cure for the ills of society. So often you find not the thought that other nations must work out their own systems even if we know ours are better, but an apocalyptic anti-communism. So often we find conservatives stressing not the protection and preservation of the American mainstream, but opposition to it.

There is of course much truth in each of these conservative positions. Government regulation has an automatic tendency toward overextension. Even while dealing with Communist China, we should remember that its totalitarianism denies the values Western civilization holds dear. Many recent American trends wholly deserve opposition.

These are truths we should not forget, but they do not really seem the truths central to our day. That is why conventional conservatives so often march off into political irrelevancy, with the Goldwater campaign, strident opposition to the China initiatives, the Ashbrook candidacy. Now we even find that the New York Conservative Party has decided to oppose state senator John Marchi, its impeccably civilized standard-bearer against John Lindsay. Somehow there is the doctrinal rigidity one would expect of radicals, not the moderation one would expect of conservatives.

It is the strength of the neo-conservatives, by contrast, that despite their small numbers they have occupied a number of strategic intersections in American life. Politically, for example, they are something of a swing group between the two major parties. Their

The New Road for the Democrats

OCT 13 1972

By IRVING KRISTOL

OCT 13 1972

Many observers appear to see the McGovern campaign as little more than another performance of the Goldwater variation, only this time by a Democratic ensemble. They are certain that he will lose by a landslide, that this will finally discredit the "extremists" within his party, and that the Democratic Party, after the election, will reconstitute itself around its traditional liberal center. Mr. Meany certainly sees it this way, as do all of the urban Democratic bosses, most of the congressional delegation, the majority of "old liberals," and a good part of the press.

I wonder. . . . Not that I have any reason to doubt the polls and their evidence pointing

Board of Contributors

to an overwhelming Nixon victory. What I do doubt, however, is that Senator McGovern's nomination is a passing aberration, an episode without serious consequence, and that the future of the Democratic Party will involve a restoration of yesterday's leadership and of yesterday's traditions. Those "old liberals" who confidently anticipate such a restoration, after the debacle, remind me of all those Grover Cleveland Democrats who waited for William Jennings Bryan to go away, after he lost badly in '96. But he was renominated twice thereafter, although a sure loser. And when the Democrats finally won, it was with Woodrow Wilson, who was a very different political animal from Grover Cleveland, just as the Democratic Party was by then a very different party.

The trouble with the Goldwater analogy is that it overlooks the basic difference between the Republican and Democratic parties. This difference has to do with the relative strength and significance of ideology within the two parties. One can put it this way: in the course of the past decades, the Democratic Party has become less of a traditional American political party and more of a European-style ideological movement. I see no reason for thinking this process will halt, or reverse itself. On the contrary, the more reasonable expectation is that Senator McGovern's defeat will only accelerate it.

The Textbook View

Textbooks on American government smugly used to say—many still do, I'm sure—that the crucial difference between American and European political parties is that ours are only mildly ideological while theirs are essentially so. Hence, American politics is mainly a "pragmatic" enterprise, in which "common sense" always triumphs over theoretical dogma. Yes, the conventional wisdom goes on to say, we have a "party of stability" (the Republicans) and a "party of change" (the Democrats); but each of these parties can only win an election by capturing the high, center ground, with the result that what the parties have in common will always be more important than what sets them apart.

This traditional view of American politics used to be largely true—but it is not nearly so true today. The Republican Party still fits the formula; its capture by a right-wing movement led by Senator Goldwater was indeed an aberration, one which it would just as soon forget. But the Democratic Party of the 1970s, I would guess, will more closely resemble the British Labor Party or the German Social Democratic Party than the Democratic Party our textbooks describe. It will be-

have more like a movement, less like a party that offers an alternative—but not radically novel—government. Which is to say: it will be far more interested in maintaining and asserting its ambitious ideological intentions than in winning a particular electoral victory by persuading those near the center that it is "responsible" and "statesmanlike." And it will count on conservative ineptitude or conservative bad luck to deliver it the government more or less on its own terms.

It is the relative strength of the spirit of "movement" vis a vis the spirit of "party" which determines how any political organization will react to adversity. Where the spirit of party is preponderant, as it is among Republicans (who feel it to be more important that they govern than precisely how they govern), an electoral defeat will indicate that a turn toward the center is in order. Whether that center is somewhat to the left or right of yesterday's center is of no great importance. A political party which believes its natural destiny is prudently to govern will take its bearings from the observable political constellations. It will be, in that sense, pragmatic. It may not much like the realities it will have to accommodate itself to, but it will assume that these realities are created outside the political sector—by changes in socioeconomic structure, religious beliefs, cultural perspectives, etc.—and that politics has little choice but to come to terms with them. All this, of course, is especially true of the "party of stability," which always sees its task as tending to the arrangements of society, not reshaping them, or challenging them, or inventing new and better arrangements.

It is quite otherwise when the spirit of movement is dominant. This is more a religious spirit than a properly political one, and it reacts to disaster by intensifying its zeal. Whether this disaster be a failure of popular acceptance or a failure inherent in its own program is of no significance. The early Christians did not revert to Judaism when the Second Coming failed to eventuate; instead, they went out to proselytize with a redoubled enthusiasm. The Seventh Day Adventists did not disband when the world failed to come to its predicted end. And the Socialist movements of the 20th Century—which are best understood as secular religions—have not relinquished their ideological commitments simply because socialism, whenever instituted, has been a disappointment where it has not been an unmitigated calamity.

It is instructive to note what is happening to the Socialist parties of Britain, Germany, and Sweden. In Britain, where a Conservative government presides over high unemployment and a near-runaway inflation, the Labor Party needs only make a few gestures in the direction of moderation to ensure a victory in the next election. It refuses to do so, but rather moves inexorably to the left—to a neutralist foreign policy (involving a withdrawal from NATO) and a more radical (i.e., collectivist and egalitarian) domestic policy. The members of the Labor Party, its activist core, have had experience of moderate Labor governments and have learned that these governments (a) always fall short of realizing their political dreams, and (b) always end up in political trouble, as its programs become a mess and as the electorate becomes disillusioned. This failure of moderate reform to meet extravagantly high expectations—and frequently to fall below anyone's expectations

—does not chasten the movement; it further radicalizes the movement, and the party which the movement inhabits.

Something like this, it seems to me, has been happening to the young activists who have, under the McGovern rules, seized control of major segments of the Democratic Party. They are reacting, not only to the Vietnam war, but at least as much to Lyndon Johnson's "Great Society" programs. They realize these programs have failed, but they have decided to attribute this failure to timidity rather than to over-ambitiousness. And, taking "the long view" which characterizes movements as distinct from parties, they prefer electoral defeat with McGovern to possible victory with a Humphrey or Muskie.

A Popular Illusion

In Germany and Sweden, Socialist parties are in power—and have been risking electoral defeat by moving left, even though it is clear the people would just as soon they didn't. It used to be the case—many people are under the illusion it still is—that parties of the left, once elected, always "naturally" moved toward the center under the pressure of governmental responsibilities. But Socialist reformism has been so unsuccessful, and the experience has been so disagreeable to adherents to the "movement," that these latter simply want no more of it. And in the United States, liberal reformism—not really so very different from social-democratic reformism in Europe—has endured the same fate, with the same results.

But won't the trade unions pull the Democratic Party back to the center? I doubt it. In fact, I would expect the pull to work the other way. The trade unions of Britain, Germany and Sweden used to represent the "solid," "responsible," "right-wings" of the Socialist parties in those countries. But they, too, have been moving sharply left. The prevailing pattern of industrial relations prescribes that trade union leaders adopt an adversary posture to the business community. It is therefore very difficult for them to be otherwise than "in opposition" to a party that takes business interests seriously; and they have no choice, in the end, but to follow the left wherever it goes. Today's trade union leaders in the United States may be resisting this subterranean tide; tomorrow's trade union leaders will be moving along with it, if only to keep their heads above water.

So I see no prospect of any return to "politics as normal" after November. The destiny of the Democratic Party is in the hands of a movement committed to what, by yesterday's standards, would be called the politics of irresponsibility. Those who think that a Nixon landslide will somehow recapture for us the tranquility of the Eisenhower years are, I should say, engaging in wishful thinking. That tranquility was ensured through the cooperation of a responsible opposition, led by Senator Lyndon Johnson. There is today no such responsible opposition in view, and no such leader to command it.

Irving Kristol is Henry Luce Professor of Urban Values at New York University and co-editor of the quarterly, *The Public Interest*. He is also a member of the Journal's Board of Contributors, four distinguished professors who contribute periodic articles reflecting a broad range of views.

F B I

Date: 11/10/72

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: ACTING DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, ALEXANDRIA (161-RC) (RUC)

IRVING KRISTOL
SPECIAL INQUIRY
BUDED 11/10/72 WOF

Re Bureau teletype, 11/3/72.

SA [REDACTED] caused a search to be made
of the files of the [REDACTED]
Virginia, and was advised on 11/8/72 [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]b3
b6
b7C
b7E① - Bureau
1 - Alexandria
CBJ:pka
(2)FBI ALEXANDRIA
RECEIVED

NOV 10 5 08 PM '72

RECEIVED FBI

DES. ... DAYS

NOT RECORDED

NOV 10 1972

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

NOV 10 1972

W TELETYPE

NR 09 PX PLAIN

1225 PM URGENT 11-10-72 WJG
TO ACTING DIRECTOR
FROM PHOENIX (161-541) (P) 1P

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| Mr. Felt | _____ |
| Mr. Baker | _____ |
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| Mr. Miller, E.S. | _____ |
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| Mr. Soyars | _____ |
| Mr. Walters | _____ |
| Tele. Room | _____ |
| Mr. Kinley | _____ |
| Mr. Armstrong | _____ |
| Ms. Herwig | _____ |
| Mrs. Neenan | _____ |

WJG
✓ *MR. MARTIN*
ROOM 1246

IRVING KRISTOL, SPIN, BUDED NOVEMBER TEN, SEVENTYTWO.

WJG RE NEW YORK TEL, NOVEMBER EIGHT, SEVENTYTWO.

ROBERT ALEXANDER NISBET, PHD., PROFESSOR, HISTORY
AND SOCIOLOGY, UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA, CONTACTED NOVEMBER NINE,
SEVENTYTWO. NISBET HAS KNOWN KRISTOL SINCE NINETEEN
SIXTYTWO AS AN ACADEMIC ACQUAINTANCE AS WELL AS A WRITER.
NISBET RECOMMENDS KRISTOL VERY HIGHLY AS OUTSTANDING IN ALL
RESPECTS, A BRILLIANT PERSON OF GREAT COURAGE, EXCELLENT
CHARACTER AS SHOWN IN MANY WAYS, IS DEDICATED TO AMERICA,
IS MODERATE IN HIS POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC VIEWS, EXTREMELY
ABLE IN HIS FIELD, AND HAS HAD MANY IMPORTANT CONSULTATIVE
POSITIONS.

REPORT FOLLOWS.

END

161-9153-13
NOT RECORDED

5 NOV 28 1972

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151-103400-100
F470

7-11-72

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

NOV 10 1972

TELETYPE

NR 017 LA PLAIN

600PM NITEL 11-10-72 NJZ

TO ACTING DIRECTOR

FROM LOS ANGELES (161-2259) (RUC) 2P

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| Mr. Felt | _____ |
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| Ms. Herwig | _____ |
| Mrs. Neenan | _____ |

IRVING KRISTOL, AKA IRVING WILLIAM KRISTOL, SPI.

RE BUREAU TELETYPE TO LOS ANGELES NOVEMBER THREE LAST,
NEW YORK TELETYPE TO BUREAU NOVEMBER EIGHT LAST, ST. LOUIS
TELETYPE TO BUREAU NOVEMBER NINE LAST, AND LOS ANGELES AIRTEL
TO BUREAU NOVEMBER TEN INSTANT.

PROFESSOR [REDACTED] CLAREMONT MEN'S COLLEGE, CLAREMONT,
CALIFORNIA, HAS KNOWN APPOINTEE ON PROFESSIONAL BASIS FOR
APPROXIMATELY TWENTY YEARS BUT IS NOT CLOSE PERSONAL
ASSOCIATE. APPOINTEE IS PROFESSIONALLY SOUND AND MOST
ACOMPLISHED INDIVIDUAL [REDACTED] KNOWS IN PUBLISHING FIELD. [REDACTED]
HAS HIGHEST RESPECT FOR APPOINTEE AND CONSIDERS HIM INDIVIDUAL
OF HIGH INTEGRITY AND EXCELLENT CHARACTER, ASSOCIATES,
REPUTATION AND LOYALTY. EVERYTHING [REDACTED] KNOWS REGARDING
APPOINTEE IS FAVORABLE AND HE HIGHLY RECOMMENDS APPOINTEE FOR
POSITION OF TRUST INVOLVING INTEREST OF FEDERAL GOVERNMENT.

END PAGE ONE

b6
b7C
MR. MARTIN
ROOM 1248

58 DEC 18 1972

NOV 28 1972

161-9153-14

PAGE TWO

LA 161-2259

RAND CORPORATE SECURITY OFFICER ADVISES APPOINTEE WAS MEMBER OF RAND CORPORATION STUDY GROUP ON URBAN AFFAIRS AND ATTENDED RAND CORPORATION WORKSHOP ON URBAN AFFAIRS, SANTA MONICA, CALIFORNIA, FOR THREE WEEKS IN DECEMBER SIXTY SEVEN. [REDACTED] CURRENT STAFF MEMBER WITH RAND CORPORATION WAS MEMBER OF STUDY GROUP, HOWEVER PRESENTLY IN EUROPE AND UNAVAILABLE FOR INTERVIEW.

b6
b7c

VICE CHANCELLOR, ACADEMIC AFFAIRS, UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA AT RIVERSIDE, CALIFORNIA, UNABLE TO LOCATE ANY RECORD CONCERNING APPOINTEE AS VISITING LECTURER AT UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA AT RIVERSIDE. HE STATES APPOINTEE MUST HAVE BEEN NONPAID GUEST LECTURER IN ONE OF THE DEPARTMENTS OFFERING A SEMINAR, AND RECORDS ARE MAINTAINED ONLY FOR VISITING PAID LECTURERS.

NO FEDERAL OR STATE TAX LIENS LOCATED IN LOS ANGELES AREA REGARDING APPOINTEE.

INFORMATION CONCERNING APPOINTEE CONTAINED IN "LOS ANGELES TIMES" SUBMITTED BY REFERENCED AIRTEL.

NO CREDIT AND NO ARREST RECORD LOCATED REGARDING APPOINTEE WITHIN LOS ANGELES AREA.

END

RES FBI WASH CLR ACK FOR TWO

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

NOV 10 1972

TELETYPE

NR012 CG PLAIN

441PM URGENT 11-10-72 EOM

TO ACTING DIRECTOR

FROM CHICAGO (161-2409) (RUC) 2P

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| Mr. Conrad | _____ |
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| Mr. Gebhardt | _____ |
| Mr. Jenkins | _____ |
| Mr. Marshall | _____ |
| Mr. Miller, E.S. | _____ |
| Mr. Purvis | _____ |
| Mr. Soyars | _____ |
| Mr. Walters | _____ |
| Tele. Room | _____ |
| Mr. Kinley | _____ |
| Mr. Armstrong | _____ |
| Ms. Herwig | _____ |
| Mrs. Neenan | _____ |

IRVING KRISTOL, SPI, BUDED NOVEMBER TEN SEVENTY TWO.

RE NY TEL TO BU NOVEMBER NINE LAST.

MR. MARTIN
ROOM 1246

① PROFESSOR MILTON FRIEDMAN, UNIVERSITY OF CG ADVISED ON NOVEMBER TEN SEVENTY TWO THAT HE HAS KNOWN THE APPOINTEE FOR APPROXIMATELY FIFTEEN YEARS. HE CHARACTERIZED HIM AS A FIRST RATE COMPETENT INDIVIDUAL WHO HAS LONG BEEN AN AUTHORITY IN HIS FIELD. HE ADVISED HIS ASSOCIATION WITH THE APPOINTEE CAME ABOUT FROM INTEREST IN COMMON WORLD PROBLEMS. FRIEDMAN ADVISED THE APPOINTEE'S WIFE IS A FAMOUS NATIONAL HISTORIAN. FRIEDMAN STATED THE APPOINTEE'S LOYALTY IS BEYOND QUESTION AND HIS ASSOCIATES AND COLLEAGUES ARE REPUTABLE PERSONS OF EXCELLENT CHARACTER. HE RECOMMENDED THE APPOINTEE FOR A POSITION IN THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT.

END PAGE ONE

161-2155-15

NOV 28 1972

58 DEC 11 1972

PAGE TWO

ON NOVEMBER TEN SEVENTY TWO MARTIN DIAMOND, PROFESSOR
POLITICAL SCIENCE, NORTHERN ILL. UNIVERSITY, ADVISED SA

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[REDACTED] HE HAS KNOWN THE APPOINTEE THIRTY THREE
YEARS. HE REGARDS APPOINTEE AS LOYAL AMERICAN OF STRONG
MORAL CHARACTER. HE HAS A KEEN UNDERSTANDING OF THE BUSINESS
WORLD, AND THE ABILITY TO WORK WITH ALL TYPES OF PEOPLE.
HE SAID HE KNOWS NOTHING OF AN ADVERSE NATURE CONCERNING
THE APPOINTEE AND RECOMMENDS HIM FOR A POSITION OF TRUST WITH
THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT.

END

HOLD

RMS FBI WA DC

ACK TWO TELS

NR009 NY PLAIN

1045AM URGENT 11-10-72 PAC

TO ACTING DIRECTOR

BOSTON

WASHINGTON FIELD

FROM NEW YORK 161-4254 1P

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

NOV 10 1972

TELETYPE

Mr. Felt
Mr. Baker
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Cleveland
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Dalbey
Mr. Gebhardt
Mr. Jenkins
Mr. Marshall
Mr. Miller, E.S.
Mr. Purvis
Mr. Soyars
Mr. Walters
Tele. Room
Mr. Kinley
Mr. Armstrong b6
Ms. Herwig b7C
Mrs. Neenan

IRVING KRISTOL, SPECIAL INQUIRY, BUDED: NOVEMBER TEN, WITHOUT FAIL.

RE NEW YORK TEL, NOVEMBER EIGHT, LAST.

THE FOLLOWING INDIVIDUALS ACQUAINTED WITH APPOINTEE:

ARTHUR ROSENTHAL, DIRECTOR, HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS;

PROFESSOR NATHAN GLAZER AND PROFESSOR [REDACTED] BOTH HARVARD

UNIVERSITY; [REDACTED] BASIC BOOKS,

INCORPORATED, PRESENTLY STAYING SHERATON COMMODORE HOTEL,

CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS; [REDACTED] BOSTON

UNIVERSITY; [REDACTED] WASHINGTON BUREAU, WALL STREET

JOURNAL, WASHINGTON, D.C.

BOSTON AND WASHINGTON FIELD. CONDUCT APPROPRIATE
INVESTIGATION.

END

JTG FBI WASH DC

161-9153-17

NOV 11 1972

58 DEC 18 1972

Why Jews Turn Conservative

SEP 14 1972

SEP 14 1972

BY IRVING KRISTOL

JERUSALEM—Though it has not gone unnoticed that American Jews are passing through a period of political turbulence, attention has for the most part been fixed on two points. The first is the expectation that an unprecedented number of Jewish voters may be casting their ballots for Richard Nixon, thereby denying the Democratic Party its two key states of New York and California. The second is the expectation that a great many wealthy Jews will be denying the Democratic Party their customary philanthropy, thereby worsening the Party's already sorry financial condition.

Both expectations are reasonable enough and—barring unforeseen developments before November—point to a possible Nixon landslide. But if one focuses on these two points alone, one is likely to miss the larger significance of what is happening among Jews, not only in the U.S. but everywhere in the world. Similarly, if one explains the phenomenon by reference to purely American circumstances—the busing controversy, attitudes toward Israel, the ethnic conflict of Jews and blacks within various urban school systems and neighborhoods—one will be offering a parochial interpretation of an event that has a more universal meaning.

It is interesting to note, for instance, that in Britain a similar realignment seems to be taking place, even though none of the peculiarly American pressures exists. Indeed, in Britain one can speak more of a reversal than a realignment. The Conservative Party and the conservative press, traditionally cool toward Israel and traditionally indifferent toward Jewish interests, has of late shown increasing friendliness and concern for both. In contrast, the Liberal and Labor parties and press, traditionally "pro-Jewish," have recently become rather critical of Israel and also display a rather studied indifference to Jewish sensibilities.

In Israel itself, of course, the changing political climate is most acutely noticed and most widely discussed. Israel, it should be remembered, was founded by men of the Left—most of the original Zionist leaders and thinkers were socialists of one kind or another—and it has always assumed its national destiny was linked to the vitality of "progressive" and "liberal" movements elsewhere. But, today, it is these very movements which are either vehemently anti-Israel or coolly critical of it. It is as if the U.S. in 1820 or 1830, had discovered that all the movements in Europe for "democratic liberation" were uncertain as to whether the new American nation should be permitted to exist. The kind of "agonizing reappraisal" that this would have provoked is exactly the experience which Israelis are living through.

An Interesting, Important Question

Now, it is tempting to regard this whole development as a temporary aberration, arising mainly out of the particular exigencies of both Israeli and American foreign policy, and of the terror which the prospect of a new holocaust in the Middle East—the extermination of another 2,000,000 Jews—strikes in every Jewish heart. That terror is real enough, and the exigencies of Israeli foreign policy are real enough, too. But there does not seem to be anything temporary about this condition. Despite atrocities such as the one at Munich, emerging pro-Arab sympathies within the

Left grow steadily stronger, not only in the United States but in every land. And the really interesting and important question is: Why? Why should the Left be so anti-Israel? And if one is able to answer that question, one should then be in a better position to understand the growing hostility of the Left to Jews within such nations as the U.S., England, France, Germany, even Sweden.

That answer has precious little to do with anything that has been independently occurring among Jews or within Israel. For two centuries now, Jews everywhere have been of a predominantly left-of-center political persuasion—and most of them would strongly prefer to retain this political identity. Having been emancipated from the ghetto by the revolutions of the 18th and 19th centuries, and having been accorded full civil rights (as distinct from mere "toleration") by the parties of liberalism and social democracy, Jews simply do not feel at home on the political Right, and most are even somewhat uncomfortable within the political center. It is true that, in terms of their socio-economic status, American Jews "ought" to have been more conservative than liberal for several decades

ways an exception—in exchange for a peace treaty that would guarantee her survival.

No, it was not the Jews or Israelis who, on their own, moved right. It is the Left that has moved left, thereby disinheriting the Jews and Israelis of their traditional political loyalties. The consequence is that the Jews are being compelled, gradually and reluctantly, to move right. Jews have not become "reactionary" as a result of affluence or military victory. But they are certainly reacting against the new politics of the Left.

To say that the Left has moved left is to take note of an event of the greatest importance—probably the crucial political development of the past fifteen years. The Left of yesteryear was generally humanistic in its outlook. The socialism it preached could be taken as an extension rather than a repudiation of liberal values, and Jews saw no reason why they shouldn't survive—as Jews—in a liberal-socialist society. The Soviet Union, to be sure, posed a problem. But many of the Left could persuade themselves that Stalinist totalitarianism was something peculiarly Russian and would in any case become more humane as it matured, as Russia itself became more "Western."

The New Left—by which one means not merely the various off-campus sects in the U.S. but also the new movements toward some form of "national socialism" in underdeveloped countries—is of another breed altogether. It appeals, not to the working class, but to that "underclass" which Marx contemptuously referred to as the *lumpen proletariat*. Where the Old Left claimed to fulfill the Western moral and intellectual tradition, even as it transcended it, the New Left repudiates that tradition. Its utter contempt for liberal values is as complete as it is candid. There are no Norman Thomases or Leon Blums or Hugh Gaitskills in this new movement. Only Maos and Che Guevaras and Castros and Eldridge Cleavers—men for whom socialism is necessarily totalitarian. In their utopias, there is no room for Jews, not for religious Jews, not for secular Jews who wish to preserve some kind of Jewish identity, and not for a Jewish state that is also a liberal society.

Speaking Plainly

True, there are segments of the New Left that are not quite so extreme. But their insistence on the "politics of confrontation"—of mob action, to put it plainly—is bound to cause uneasiness among Jews who have never fared well at the hands of mobs. True, too, there seem to be some young Jews who are fascinated by a kind of suicidal, messianic vision. But their number dwindles every year. Young Jews were very prominent among the original New Left sects on college campuses ten years ago. They are not nearly so prominent today. Simultaneously, it is among Jewish youth groups (including college students) that there is now considerable agitation for redirecting Jewish philanthropy toward providing greater support for Jewish education—including education in Jewish all-day schools, which are growing rapidly.

One can sum up the matter in this way. Jews are perceiving an identity of interests between (a) the preservation of liberal values and institutions, and (b) Jewish survival. Jews were attracted to the Left so long as it seemed to incorporate liberal values in a wider vision. They are now experiencing a revulsion against a Left that wishes to negate

Board of Contributors

The Wall Street Journal is pleased to announce a new feature, the Board of Contributors, intended to present a broad range of viewpoints on current topics. Four distinguished university professors have been invited to contribute regular monthly articles, and each has agreed to write eight to twelve times over the next year. The contributors are:

Walter W. Heller, Regents' Professor of Economics at the University of Minnesota and former chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers under Presidents Kennedy and Johnson.

Irving Kristol, Henry Luce Professor of Urban Values at New York University and co-editor of the quarterly, *The Public Interest*.

Paul W. McCracken, Edmund Ezra Day University Professor of Business Administration at the University of Michigan and former chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers under President Nixon.

Arthur Schlesinger Jr., Albert Schweitzer Professor of the Humanities at the City University of New York and winner of Pulitzer Prizes in history and biography.

Mr. Kristol's article is the second in the series. Initial articles by other contributors will appear next week.

now. But they weren't—and aren't. When political loyalties have been powerfully shaped by two hundred years of history, the influence of contemporary socio-economic interests turns out to be surprisingly weak.

Similarly, it cannot be said that Israel has undergone any kind of political transformation—either in fact or in thought—over this past decade. Perhaps it should have, but it didn't. Israel remains a "mixed economy"—part capitalist, part socialist—and the reigning political ethos is still that of a "cooperative commonwealth." True, Israel has been victorious in war and has acquired extensive new territories. But no one who visits Israel can doubt that she would part with all or most of these territories—the city of Jerusalem al-

liberal values. For these values are indispensable to Jews. They are indispensable to Jews in Israel who, regardless of the vagaries of *Realpolitik*, can see that it is the liberal values they share with the U.S. that, in the end, makes the foreign policies of these two nations more congenial than antipathetic. They are equally indispensable to Jews within the U.S. or Britain or France, for in any monolithic political system they are bound, as a tiny minority, to suffer.

• It is no paradox to state that it is precisely the liberalism of American Jews and Israeli Jews which are moving both in a more conservative direction—moving both toward a concern with the *conservation* of the kind of liberal society that prevails in both lands. Such a conservatism is, of course, perfectly compatible with a care for social reforms. It is not at all compatible with the antiliberal passion that is convulsing and reshaping the Left all over the world.

This redirection of Jewish political thinking could have large consequences. Not—or not merely—because Jewish voters are concentrated in New York or California, and not because there are so many rich Jews in proportion to their numbers. Jewish influence has never been primarily a matter of votes or money. Jews are important out of all relation to their population or wealth because they have such extraordinary talents in the intellectual and cultural spheres. It may be naive to think that Jews can offer political conservatism, both in the U.S. and Israel and elsewhere, an intellectual vigor and cultural buoyancy it has so sadly lacked until now. It may be naive to think so—but it is now possible to think that, whereas only yesterday it was unimaginable.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

NOV 10 1972

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| Mr. Holmes | _____ |
| Mr. Gandy | _____ |

NR 005 SF PLAIN

11:28 PM URGENT 11/10/72 MCC

TO ACTING DIRECTOR

FROM SAN FRANCISCO (161-2071) (P) 1P

IRVING KRISTOL. SPIN. BUDED NOVEMBER TEN INSTANT.

RE BOSTON NITEL NOVEMBER NINE LAST.

REFERENCE, SEYMOUR MARTIN LIPSET, NOT AVAILABLE FOR
INTERVIEW UNTIL WEEK OF NOVEMBER THIRTEEN NEXT. UPON COMPLETION OF
INTERVIEW, SAN FRANCISCO WILL IMMEDIATELY SUTEL RESULTS.

END

NR002 & NR005 LXS FBI WASH DC CLR

✓ MR. [Signature]
ROOM 4246
[Signature]

161-1153-16
NOT RECORDED
5 NOV 28 1972

68 DEC 18 1972

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

NOV 10 1972

TELETYPE

NR017 BS PLAIN

831 PM NITEL 11-10-72 WFY

TO ACTING DIRECTOR

NEW YORK

FROM BOSTON (161-3223) (RUC)

IRVING KRISTOL; SI.

RE NY TEL NOVEMBER TEN SEVENTYTWO.
INVESTIGATION AT HARVARD UNIVERSITY, CAMBRIDGE,
MASS., WAS CONDUCTED BY SA [REDACTED] REMAINING
INVESTIGATION BY SA [REDACTED]

ACQUAINTANCES:

ON NOVEMBER TEN SEVENTYTWO ARTHUR ROSENTHAL,
DIRECTOR OF HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS, CAMBRIDGE, MASS.
ADVISED THAT HE HAS KNOWN THE APPOINTEE FOR OVER TWELVE
YEARS. HE STATED THAT HE HAS BEEN IN HIS PRESENT POSITION
FOR ONE MONTH AND WAS FORMERLY THE OWNER OF BASIC BOOKS
INC. AND KNEW THE APPOINTEE WHEN HE WAS THE EDITOR AND
CHIEF OF THE PUBLISHING COMPANY.

MR. ROSENTHAL STATED HE KNOWS THE APPOINTEE WELL
AND STATED HE IS CONSERVATIVE, LOYAL, HONEST, AND BRILLIANT.
HE DESCRIBED HIM AS A "GREAT MAN". HE STATED THAT THE

END PAGE ONE

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| Ms. Herwig | _____ |
| Mrs. Neenan | _____ |

ROOM 1246
2/1/72

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PAGE TWO

APPOINTEE'S CHARACTER IS THE FINEST AND HIS MORALS,
REPUTATION, ASSOCIATES, AND PATRIOTISM HAVE ALWAYS BEEN
EXCELLENT. HE KNOWS THE APPOINTEE'S [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] HIS [REDACTED]

[REDACTED], AND HIS [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] HE STATED THAT THEY ARE HIGHLY

REPUTABLE PEOPLE. MR. ROSENTHAV RECOMMENDED THE APPOINTEE
AS AN EXCEPTIONALLY FINE CHOICE FOR A RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT
POSITION OF TRUST AND CONFIDENCE.

2) ON NOVEMBER TEN SEVENTYTWO, NATHAN GLAZER, ,
PROFESSOR OF EDUCATION AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE, HARVARD
UNIVERSITY, ADVISED HE HAS KNOWN THE EMPLOYEE FOR ABOUT
THIRTY YEARS, AND BECAME ACQUAINTED WITH HIM AS A STUDENT
AT CITY COLLEGE OF NEW YORK. HE STATED THE EMPLOYEE IS
AN OUTSTANDING AUTHOR, TEACHER AND PUBLISHER WHOSE
CHARACTER, MORALS, REPUTATION, ASSOCIATES AND LOYALTY
HAVE ALWAYS BEEN OUTSTANDING IN EVERY WAY.

HE STATED THAT HE HAD NUMEROUS CONTACTS IN THE
ACADEMIC FIELD WITH THE APPOINTEE AS A PROFESSOR
AT NEW YORK UNIVERSITY.

END PAGE TWO

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b7c

PAGE THREE

HE STATED THAT HE KNOWS THE APPOINTEE'S FAMILY AND THAT THEY ARE ALL REPUTABLE PERSONS. PROFESSOR GLAZER RECOMMENDED THE APPOINTEE WITHOUT HESITATION AS A FINE CHOICE FOR A RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT POSITION OF TRUST AND CONFIDENCE.

3 ON NOVEMBER TEN SEVENTYTWO, [REDACTED] ASSISTANT PROFESSOR OF [REDACTED] HARVARD UNIVERSITY, STATED HE HAS KNOWN THE APPOINTEE SINCE THE FALL OF SIXTYNINE WHEN HE WAS APPOINTED ASSOCIATE EDITOR OF "THE PUBLIC INTEREST" AND SINCE THEN WORKED CLOSELY WITH THE APPOINTEE, THE EDITOR AND PUBLISHER OF THE JOURNAL.

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PROFESSOR [REDACTED] STATED THAT THE APPOINTEE IS A LEADING INTELLECTUAL, EXTREMELY KNOWLEDGEABLE IN URBAN AFFAIRS AND PUBLIC POLICY. HE DESCRIBED HIM AS A CULTURAL CRITIC AS REFLECTED IN THE ARTICLE IN HIS PAPER THE PUBLIC INTEREST. PROFESSOR [REDACTED] STATED THAT THE CHARACTER, MORALS, AND REPUTATION OF THE APPOINTEE HAVE ALWAYS BEEN EXCELLENT. HE STATED THAT HE ASSOCIATES WITH HIGH TYPE PEOPLE AND HIS LOYALTY TO FRIENDS AND PATRIOTISM TO THIS COUNTRY ARE ABOVE QUESTION.

END PAGE THREE

PAGE FOUR

[REDACTED] STATED HE KNOWS THE APPOINTEE'S FAMILY AND THAT

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THEY ARE ALL REPUTABLE PERSONS. HE RECOMMENDED THE APPOINTEE
AS AN EXCELLENT CHOICE FOR A RESPONSIBLE
GOVERNMENT POSITION OF TRUST AND CONFIDENCE.

ON NOVEMBER TEN SEVENTYTWO PROFESSOR ARNOLD
BEITCHMAN, POLITICAL SCIENCE DEPARTMENT, UNIVERSITY OF
MASS. BOSTON, STATLER HOTEL, BOSTON, MASS., ADVISED
THAT HE HAS KNOWN APPOINTEE SINCE NINETEEN FIFTY AND
CONSIDERS APPOINTEE A GREAT MAN. APPOINTEE IS LOYAL
AMERICAN WHOSE CHARACTER AND MORALS ARE ABOVE QUESTION.
BEITCHMAN AND APPOINTEE ARE CLOSE FRIENDS AND THEIR
FAMILIES ARE ALSO CLOSE. APPOINTEE'S WIFE IS A
PROFESSOR AND A VERY BRILLIANT PERSON AND BEITCHMAN IS
PROUD TO BE ACQUAINTED WITH BOTH OF THEM. BEITCHMAN STATED
THAT HE WOULD RECOMMEND APPOINTEE VERY HIGHLY FOR A POSITION
WITH THE US GOVERNMENT AND FELT THAT THE
GOVERNMENT WOULD BE BETTER OFF FOR HAVING SOMEONE AS
QUALIFIED AS APPOINTEE.

ON INSTANT DATE ATTEMPTS TO CONTACT [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

END PAGE FOUR

PAGE FIVE

CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS MET WITH NEGATIVE RESULTS.

[REDACTED] CHECKED OUT THIS MORNING AND RETURNED TO NEW

YORK CITY.

LEADS, NEW YORK, WILL LOCATE AND INTERVIEW [REDACTED]

END

HOLD FO R TWO TEL'S

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

NOV 10 1972

TELETYPE

NR010 BS PLAIN

6:37 PM NITEL 11-10-72 DAB

TO: ACTING DIRECTOR

FROM: BOSTON (161-3223) RUC

IRVING KRISTOL; SPIN

RENYTEL, NOV. EIGHT, LAST AND BSTEL TO SF, NOV. NINE, LAST.

INVESTIGATION AT HARVARD UNIV., CAMBRIDGE, MASS., WAS CONDUCTED BY SA [REDACTED] ARREST CHECKS AT CAMBRIDGE AND BOSTON, MASS. WERE CONDUCTED AT THE REQUEST OF SC [REDACTED]

REFERENCES:

ON NOV. NINE, LAST, DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN, PROFESSOR OF EDUCATION AND URBAN POLITICS, HARVARD UNIV., ADVISED HE HAS KNOWN THE APPOINTEE OVER FIFTEEN YEARS AND WENT WITH HIM IN SIXTYSEVEN TO GERMANY ON A FORD FOUNDATION VISIT OF INTELLECTUALS AND ALSO SERVED WITH HIM IN SIXTYEIGHT AS A CO-CHAIRMAN OF A CONFERENCE ON THE FUTURE OF NEW YORK CITY.

END PAGE ONE

MR. MARTIN
ROOM 1246

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| Mr. Felt | |
| Mr. Baker | |
| Mr. Bishop | |
| Mr. Callahan | |
| Mr. Cleveland | |
| Mr. Conrad | |
| Mr. DeLoach | |
| Mr. Evans | |
| Mr. Gale | |
| Mr. Rosen | |
| Mr. Sullivan | |
| Mr. Tavel | |
| Mr. Trotter | |
| Mr. Tele. Room | |
| Mr. Holmes | |
| Mr. Kinley | |
| Mr. Armstrong | |
| Ms. Herwig | |
| Mrs. Neenan | |

58 DEC 18 1972

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BS (161-3223)

PAGE TWO

PROFESSOR MOYNIHAN STATED THE APPOINTEE IS AN OUTSTANDING AUTHOR AND EDITOR WHO IS BLAMELESS AND HONORABLE IN EVERY RESPECT. HE STATED THE APPOINTEE'S PUBLIC RECORD AND HIS PRIVATE LIFE ARE ABOVE REPROACH. HE ADVISED THAT THE APPOINTEE'S REPUTATION, MORALS, ETHICS, ASSOCIATES, AND LOYALTY ARE EXCELLENT. HE RECOMMENDED HIM HAS A FINE CHOICE FOR A RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT POSITION OF TRUST AND CONFIDENCE.

> ON NOV. NINE, LAST, DANIEL BELL, PROFESSOR OF SOCIOLOGY AT HARVARD UNIV., ADVISED HE WAS A CLASSMATE OF APPOINTEE AT THE CITY COLLEGE OF NEW YORK; AND THEY HAVE BEEN CLOSE FRIENDS FOR OVER THIRTY YEARS. HE STATED SINCE SIXTYFOUR, HE IS CO-FOUNDER AND CO-EDITOR WITH THE APPOINTEE OF A PUBLICATION ON URBAN AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS ENTITLED "THE PUBLIC INTEREST".

PROFESSOR BELL STATED THE APPOINTEE IS A HIGHLY REGARDED EDITOR AND WRITER WHO IS INTELLIGENT AND COMPETENT. HE STATED THE APPOINTEE'S CHARACTER AND REPUTATION HAVE ALWAYS BEEN "SPOTLESS"; AND HIS ASSOCIATES, MORALS, AND LOYALTY ARE ABOVE REPROACH.

END PAGE TWO

BS (161-3223)

PAGE THREE

PROFESSOR BELL STATED HE IS A CLOSE FAMILY FRIEND
AND KNOWS THE APPOINTEE'S [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] WHO IS A [REDACTED] AND [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] WHO IS A HIGH SCHOOL STUDENT. HE SAID THEY
WERE ALL REPUTABLE PERSONS.

PROFESSOR BELL RECOMMENDED THE APPOINTEE WITHOUT
QUALIFICATION AS AN EXCELLENT SELECTION FOR A RESPONSIBLE
GOVERNMENT POSITION OF TRUST AND CONFIDENCE.

ON INSTANT DATE, JAMES Q. WILSON, PROFESSOR OF
GOVERNMENT AT HARVARD, ADVISED HE HAS KNOWN THE APPOINTEE
FOR SEVERAL YEARS IN A PROFESSIONAL CAPACITY. HE STATED
THE APPOINTEE IS AN ACCOMPLISHED AUTHOR AND EDITOR WHO
IS RESPECTED AND WELL REGARDED. HE STATED HIS KNOWLEDGE
OF THE APPOINTEE'S CHARACTER, MORALS, REPUTATION,
ASSOCIATES, AND LOYALTY HAS ALWAYS BEEN HIGHLY FAVORABLE.
HE RECOMMENDED THE APPOINTEE FOR A RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT
POSITION OF TRUST AND CONFIDENCE.

ARREST:

ON NOV. NINE, LAST, FILES OF THE CAMBRIDGE PD
CONTAINED NO RECORD IN THE NAME OF [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

END PAGE THREE

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BS (161-3223)

PAGE FOUR

ON INSTANT DATE, PERSONNEL OF THE OFFICE OF THE
MASS. COMMISSIONER OF PROBATION, SUFFOLK COUNTY COURTHOUSE,
BOSTON, MASS., A CENTRAL REPOSITORY FOR ALL TRAFFIC AND
CRIMINAL CONVICTION RECORDS IN THE COMMONWEALTH OF MASS.,
ADVISED THEIR FILES CONTAINED NO RECORD IDENTIFIABLE WITH
THE NAME [REDACTED]

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MISCELLANEOUS:

ON INSTANT DATE, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] A DORMITORY AT [REDACTED] ADVISED THAT [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] OF APPOINTEE, IS A MEMBER OF THE CLASS
OF [REDACTED] AT THAT COLLEGE AND RESIDES AT [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] HE STATED THAT HE KNOWS HIM TO BE A

REPUTABLE INDIVIDUAL.

END

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

NOV 10 1972

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| Mr. Felt | _____ |
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| Mr. Gebhardt | _____ |
| Mr. Jenkins | _____ |
| Mr. Marshall | _____ |
| Mr. Miller, R.S. | _____ |
| Mr. Purvis | _____ |
| Mr. Soyars | _____ |
| Mr. Walters | _____ |
| Tele. Room | _____ |
| Mr. Kinley | _____ |
| Mr. Armstrong | _____ |
| Ms. Herwig | _____ |
| Mrs. Neenan | _____ |

NR013 NY PLAIN

705PM NITEL 11-10-72 PAC

TO ACTING DIRECTOR

FROM NEW YORK 161-4254 (P) 11P

IRVING KRISTOL, AKA, SPECIAL INQUIRY, BUDED: NOVEMBER TEN,
WITHOUT FAIL.

RE NEW YORK TEL, NOVEMBER TEN, SEVENTY TWO.
ASSOCIATES

ON NOVEMBER NINE, LAST, DANIEL SELIGMAN, EDITOR, FORTUNE
MAGAZINE, TIME-LIFE BUILDING, NEW YORK CITY, NEW YORK,
ADVISED SA [REDACTED] THAT HE HAS KNOWN THE APPOINTEE
FOR APPROXIMATELY TWENTY FIVE YEARS AND THEIR RELATIONSHIP IS
PRIMARILY SOCIAL IN NATURE. HE DID POINT OUT, HOWEVER, THAT
THE APPOINTEE SUBMITTED EIGHT TO TWELVE ARTICLES WHICH WERE
PUBLISHED IN FORTUNE MAGAZINE BETWEEN THE PERIOD NINETEEN
SIXTY SEVEN TO SEVENTY. HE STATED THAT THE APPOINTEE HAS NOT
SUBMITTED ANY ARTICLES FOR OVER A YEAR AS HIS DUTIES AS CO-
EDITOR OF THE PUBLICATION, "THE PUBLIC INTEREST", HAVE TAKEN
UP TOO MUCH OF HIS TIME.
END PAGE ONE

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MR. MARTIN
ROOM 1246

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PAGE TWO

SELIGMAN ADVISED THAT THE APPOINTEE HAS WORKED AS AN EDITOR FOR VARIOUS PUBLICATIONS OVER THE YEARS INCLUDING ENCOUNTER MAGAZINE IN LONDON, ENGLAND, FOR WHICH SELIGMAN HAS SUBMITTED ARTICLES FOR PUBLICATION. THE APPOINTEE ENJOYS AN EXCELLENT REPUTATION AS AN EDITOR AND A GREAT DEAL OF HIS WRITINGS HAVE BEEN WITHIN THE AREA OF POLITICAL SCIENCE. WITHIN THIS AREA THE APPOINTEE HAS THE REPUTATION OF BEING A CONSERVATIVE AS HE TAKES A POSITION IN OPPOSITION TO THE NEW LEFT MOVEMENT. THE APPOINTEE HAS A VERY SUPERIOR REPUTATION AS AN EDITOR AND IS AN INTELLIGENT INDIVIDUAL WHO WRITES CLEARLY AND IS CAPABLE OF EXPRESSING HIS IDEAS.

SELIGMAN KNEW OF NOTHING UNFAVORABLE IN THE APPOINTEE'S BACKGROUND AND COMMENTED FAVORABLY CONCERNING HIS HONESTY, LOYALTY, MORAL CHARACTER, AND ASSOCIATES. HE FURTHER ADVISED THAT HE HAS NEVER KNOWN THE APPOINTEE TO HAVE HAD ANY PROBLEMS WITH NARCOTICS OR INTOXICANTS. HE ENDORSED THE APPOINTEE FOR EMPLOYMENT IN A POSITION OF TRUST AND RESPONSIBILITY WITH THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT.

ON NOVEMBER NINE, LAST, INVESTIGATION AT NATIONAL REVIEW MAGAZINE, ONE FIVE ZERO EAST THIRTY FIFTH STREET, NEW YORK CITY. NEW YORK, REFLECTS THAT WILLIAM BUCKLEY, THE EDITOR OF THIS

END PAGE TWO

PAGE THREE

PUBLICATION, WOULD NOT BE AVAILABLE UNTIL NEXT MONDAY AS HE IS OUT OF TOWN ON A LECTURE TOUR.

ON NOVEMBER NINE, LAST, AN ATTEMPT WAS MADE TO CONTACT LESTER BERNSTEIN, EDITOR, NEWSWEEK MAGAZINE, FOUR FOUR FOUR MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK CITY, NEW YORK, AT WHICH TIME IT WAS ASCERTAINED THAT HE IS PRESENTLY OUT OF THE COUNTRY ON VACATION AND IS NOT EXPECTED TO RETURN FOR THREE WEEKS.

ON NOVEMBER NINE, LAST, A.R. ROSENTHAL, EDITOR, NEW YORK TIMES, NY, NY, ADVISED HAS KNOWN APPOINTEE ON SOCIAL AND PROFESSIONAL BASIS FOR TEN YEARS. DESCRIBED APPOINTEE AS OUTSTANDING INTELLECTUAL AND INDIVIDUAL WHO WOULD BE AN ASSET TO THE COUNTRY. NOTHING UNFAVORABLE KNOWN CONCERNING CHARACTER, LOYALTY, MORALS, REPUTATION, AND ASSOCIATES. SEES APPOINTEE AT LEAST ONCE A WEEK. WOULD RECOMMEND HIGHLY FOR POSITION OF TRUST AND CONFIDENCE. STATED APPOINTEE IS TO THE DOMESTIC SCENE WHAT HENRY KISSENGER IS TO THE FOREIGN SCENE. STATED WOULD PLACE APPOINTEE ON PAR WITH KISSENGER AS FAR AS EACH OF THEIR FIELDS OF ENDEAVOR ARE CONCERNED. STATED THAT APPOINTEE IS AN OUTSTANDING AUTHORITY ON THE PROBLEMS EXISTING IN THE UNITED STATES TODAY.

END PAGE THREE

PAGE FOUR

(13) ON NOVEMBER NINE NINETEEN HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-TWO, MR. ROGER STARR, TEN EAST FORTIETH STREET, NEW YORK, NEW YORK,

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ADVISED SA [REDACTED] THAT HE HAS BEEN ACQUAINTED WITH THE APPOINTEE FOR APPROXIMATELY SEVEN YEARS AND CONSIDERS HIM A REMARKABLE PERSON OF GREAT INTELLIGENCE. HE STATED THAT THE APPOINTEE WAS A GOOD FRIEND AND A DECENT HUMAN BEING ABOUT WHOM HE KNEW NOTHIN DEROGATORY. HE STATED THAT THE APPOINTEE'S CHARACTER, ASSOCIATES, REPUTATION AND LOYALTY WERE ABOVE REPROACH AND RECOMMENDED HIM WITHOUT RESERVATION FOR A POSITION OF TRUST WITH THE GOVERNMENT. HE STATED THAT HE WAS FAMILIAR WITH THE APPLICANT'S PUBLICATION ENTITLED "PUBLIC INTEREST" AND CONSIDERED A VERY GOOD PUBLICATION.

(14) ON NOVEMBER NINE NINETEEN HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-TWO, PROFESSOR SIDNEY HOOK, PROFESSOR OF PHILOSOPHY, NYC, ADVISED SA

[REDACTED] THAT THE APPOINTEE WAS ONE OF THE LEADING INTELLECTUALS IN THE UNITED STATES. PROFESSOR HOOK ADVISED THAT THE APPOINTEE WAS ONE OF THE FINEST, MOST DECENT MEN THAT HE HAS EVER BEEN ACQUAINTED WITH. HE STATED THAT THE APPOINTEE WAS THE EDITOR OF "PUBLIC INTEREST" A CURRENT PERIODICAL AND WAS PREVIOUSLY THE EDITOR OF "ENCOUNTER" IN LONDON, ENGLAND AND "COMMENTARY".

HE SAID THAT THE APPOINTEE WAS CURRENTLY A PROFESSOR OF URBAN VALUES AT NEW YORK UNIVERSITY AND STATED THAT THE APPOINTEE'S CHARACTER, ASSOCIATES, REPUTATION AND LOYALTY WERE ABOVE REPROACH AND

END PAGE FOUR

PAGE FIVE

RECOMMENDED HIM WITHOUT RESERVATION FOR A POSITION OF TRUST WITH THE GOVERNMENT.

⑤ ON NOVEMBER NINE NINETEEN HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-TWO, MR.

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[REDACTED] NEW YORK, NEW YORK,
ADVISED SA [REDACTED] THAT HE HAS KNOWN THE APPOINTEE FOR APPROXIMATELY FIVE YEARS AND CONSIDERS HIM EXTREMELY INTELLIGENT, HONORABLE, LUCID, QUIET AND HIGHLY QUALIFIED FOR ANY POSITION WITH THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT. HE STATED THAT THE APPOINTEE HAS AN EXCELLENT HOME LIFE AND THAT HE KNOWS NOTHING DEROGATORY ABOUT HIM. HE STATED THAT THE APPOINTEE'S CHARACTER, ASSOCIATES, REPUTATION AND LOYALTY WERE EXCELLENT AND RECOMMENDED HIM WITHOUT RESERVATION FOR A POSITION OF TRUST WITH THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT.

⑤ ON NOVEMBER NINE NINETEEN HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-TWO, MR.

[REDACTED] NEW YORK, NEW YORK,
ADVISED SA [REDACTED] THAT HE HAS BEEN ACQUAINTED WITH THE APPOINTEE FOR APPROXIMATELY TWENTY-FIVE YEARS AND HE CONSIDERS HIM A VERY GOOD FRIEND. HE STATED THAT THE APPOINTEE WAS A PROMINENT ACADEMIC FIGURE, A GOOD WRITER AND A SOLID CITIZEN. [REDACTED] ADVISED THAT
END PAGE FIVE

PAGE SIX

HE KNEW NOTHING DEROGATORY RE THE APPOINTEE AND STATED THAT HIS CHARACTER, ASSOCIATES, REPUTATION AND LOYALTY WERE ABOVE REPROACH AND RECOMMENDED HIM WITHOUT RESERVATION FOR A POSITON OF TRUST WITH THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT. HE SAID THAT HE WAS FAMILIAR WITH THE PUBLICATION " PUBLIC INTEREST " AND CONSIDERED IT A VERY FINE MAGAZINE.

ON NOVEMBER NINE NINETEEN HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-TWO,

[REDACTED] NEW YORK,

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NEW YORK, ADVISED SA [REDACTED] THAT HE HAS KNOWN THE APPOINTEE IN EXCESS OF FIFTEEN YEARS. HE SAID THAT HE CONSIDERED THE APPOINTEE A FIRST CLASS CITIZEN OF THE HIGHEST INTEGRITY.

HE STATED THAT THE APPOINTEE WAS PATRIOTIC, SENSIBLE, A GOOD WRITER AND INTELLIGENT. HE STATED THAT THE

APPOINTEE WAS A FAMILY MAN WHO HAD GOOD PERSONAL HABITS AND WAS A VERY GOOD FRIEND. HE SAID THE APPOINTEE'S CHARACTER, ASSOCIATES, REPUTATION AND LOYALTY WERE ABOVE REPROACH AND RECOMMENDED HIM WITHOUT RESERVATION FOR A POSITION OF TRUST WITH THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT. [REDACTED] ADVISED THAT HE WAS FAMILIAR WITH ALL THE PUBLICATIONS THAT THE APPOINTEE WAS ASSOCIATED WITH AND CONSIDERED THEM ALL FIRST CLASS PUBLICATIONS.

END PAGE SIX

PAGE SEVEN

2 ON NOVEMBER NINE NINETEEN HUNDRED AND SEVENTY TWO,

[REDACTED] TIME INCORPORATED, TWO TWENTY-

NINE WEST FORTH THIRD STREET, NEW YORK, ADVISED SA

[REDACTED] THAT HE CONSIDERS APPOINTEE TO BE ONE OF THE BRIGHTEST,

MOST INTELLIGENT PERSON HE HAS EVER KNOWN. HE SAID THE APPOINTEE WAS OF THE HIGHEST INTEGRITY AND WAS VERY SENSIBLE AND WELL SPOKEN. HE STATED THAT THE APPOINTEE'S PERSONAL HABITS WERE EXCELLENT AND THAT HIS CHARACTER, ASSOCIATES, REPUTATION AND LOYALTY WERE ABOVE REPROACH. HE RECOMMENDED THE APPOINTEE HIGHLY FOR A POSITION OF TRUST WITH THE GOVERNMENT.

9 ON NOVEMBER NINE NINETEEN HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-TWO,

[REDACTED] NEW YORK TIMES, TWO TWENTY-NINE

WEST FORTY THIRD STREET, NEW YORK, NEW YORK,

ADVISED THAT HE HAS KNOWN THE APPOINTEE IN EXCESS OF FIFTEEN YEARS

AND CONSIDERS HIM A VERY BRILLIANT PERSON. HE SAID THE APPOINTEE

IS THOUGHTFUL HAS A FRESH POINT OF VIEW AND IS EXCELLENT AT ANALYZING DIFFICULT PROBLEMS. HE SAID THAT HE IS AN EXCELLENT

THINKER WHO IS EASY TO GET ALONG WITH AND IS COURTEOUS, PERSONABLE

AND CAN EXPRESS HIMSELF WELL. HE STATED THE APPOINTEE'S CHARACTER,

ASSOCIATES, REPUTATION AND LOYALTY WERE ABOVE REPROACH AND RECOMMENDS HIM WITHOUT RESERVATION FOR A POSITION OF TRUST WITH THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT.

END PAGE SEVEN

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PAGE EIGHT

ON NOVEMBER NINE NINETEEN HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-TWO,

[REDACTED] NEW YORK, NEW YORK, ADVISED

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SA [REDACTED] THAT HE HAS KNOWN THE APPOINTEE FOR MORE THAN TEN YEARS.

[REDACTED] ADVISED THAT HE WAS THE [REDACTED] OF THE PUBLICATION

COMMITTEE OF THE PUBLICATION "PUBLIC INTEREST". [REDACTED] ADVISED

THE APPOINTEE IS HIGHLY INTELLIGENT, ONE OF THE FINEST INTELLECTUAL

MINDS IN THE COUNTRY TODAY AND THAT HE COULD THINK OF NOTHING

DEROGATORY ABOUT THE APPOINTEE. HE STATED THAT THE APPOINTEE'S

CHARACTER, ASSOCIATES, REPUTATION AND LOYALTY WERE ABOVE REPROACH

AND RECOMMENDED HIM WITHOUT RESERVATION FOR A POSITION OF TRUST WITH

THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT.

ON NOVEMBER NINE, LAST, SA [REDACTED] CONTACTED [REDACTED]

ASSOCIATE EDITOR OF "THE WALL STREET JOURNAL", NEW YORK CITY,

NEW YORK. HE ADVISED THAT HE HAS BEEN FOLLOWING APPOINTEE IN

HIS PUBLICATION, "THE PUBLIC INTEREST". HE ADVISED THAT KRISTOL

IS PRECISELY THE TYPE OF MAN THAT THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION SHOULD

TRY TO RECRUIT FOR GOVERNMENT SERVICE. HE STATED THAT

KRISTOL IS A MAN OF CONSERVATIVE IDEAS AND HAS GREAT COMMON SENSE.

HE SAID IN ADDITION KRISTOL HAS VISION AND GREAT ABILITY.

HE ADVISED THAT KRISTOL HAS WRITTEN ARTICLES FOR THE

END PAGE EIGHT

PAGE NINE

PUBLICATION, "THE WALL STREET JOURNAL" ON A FREE LANCE BASIS WITH PAYMENTS ON ARTICLES SUBMITTED. HE STATED THAT HE HAS BEEN PERSONALLY ACQUAINTED WITH KRISTOL FOR THE PAST TWO YEARS AND THAT HE WROTE AN ARTICLE ON KRISTOL IN "THE WALL STREET JOURNAL", CAPTIONED "IRVING KRISTOL AND FRIENDS", IN MAY THREE, SEVENTY TWO ISSUE OF THIS PAPER. HE ADVISED THAT HE COULD FURNISH NO DEROGATORY INFORMATION REGARDING KRISTOL'S CHARACTER, MORALS, REPUTATION, LOYALTY, OR ASSOCIATES. HE ADVISED THAT HE WOULD HIGHLY RECOMMEND THE APPOINTEE FOR A POSITION OF TRUST WITH THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT.

CREDIT

ON NOVEMBER EIGHT, LAST, [REDACTED] CLERK, CREDIT BUREAU OF GREATER NEW YORK, NEW YORK, NEW YORK, ADVISED SC

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[REDACTED] THAT RECORDS AVAILABLE TO HER CONTAIN A NINETEEN SIXTY SEVEN REPORT INDICATING THAT IRVING AND [REDACTED] RESIDED AT NINETY RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK CITY, NEW YORK. HE WAS EXECUTIVE VICE-PRESIDENT, BASIC BOOKS, INCORPORATED. STATED FILES CONTAINED NO UNFAVORABLE INFORMATION.

END PAGE NINE

PAGE TEN

MISCELLANEOUS

A REVIEW OF THE MATERIAL CONCERNING THE APPOINTEE IN THE NEW YORK TIMES MORGUE, TWO TWO NINE WEST FORTY THIRD STREET, NEW YORK CITY, REVEALED THE FOLLOWING PERTINENT INFORMATION:

ON JANUARY TWENTY, NINETEEN FIFTY THREE, THE AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR CULTURAL FREEDOM, WHILE KRISTOL WAS EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, CHARGED THE EMERGENCY AND CIVIL LIBERTIES COMMITTEE WITH BEING A COMMUNIST FRONT ORGANIZATION.

IN A BOOK REVIEW WRITTEN BY THE APPOINTEE AND PUBLISHED ON SEPTEMBER TWENTY THREE, FIFTY SEVEN, HE WAS INTRODUCED AS COEDITOR WITH [REDACTED] OF ENCOUNTER MAGAZINE.

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ON AUGUST EIGHTEEN, NINETEEN FIFTY EIGHT, NEW YORK TIMES ANNOUNCED THE APPOINTMENT OF KRISTOL AS EDITOR OF REPORTER MAGAZINE.

IN A TIME MAGAZINE ARTICLE DATED MARCH FOUR, NINETEEN SIXTY SIX, KRISTOL WAS DESCRIBED AS A FIRST-RATE SOCIAL CRITIC. HE WAS QUOTED AS SAYING, "WE ARE INCURABLE MELIORISTS. WE THINK THE PEOPLE IN WASHINGTON ARE DOING AS GOOD A JOB AS ANYBODY CAN. THEY WOULD DO AN EVEN BETTER ONE IF THEY WERE GIVEN ALL THE INFORMATION."

IN A COLUMN BY JAMES RESTON, DATED JUNE FIVE, SIXTY SIX, KRISTOL IS QUOTED AS SAYING PRESENT STUDENT RADICALS ARE

END PAGE TEN

PAGE ELEVEN

GOING TO DISCOVER THAT THEIR REVOLUTION, TOO, HAS BEEN
BETRAYED; THAT ORGANIZED SOCIETY IS WHAT REVOLUTIONS ESTABLISH
AS WELL AS DESTROY.

A DESCRIPTION OF KRISTOL WHICH ACCOMPANIED AN ARTICLE
WRITTEN BY HIM AND DATED FEBRUARY ELEVEN, SIXTY EIGHT, SAID HE
WAS A MEMBER OF THE OLD "LIBERAL ANTI-COMMUNIST INTELLECTUAL"
SET WHO HAS A FEW THINGS TO SAY ABOUT THE NEW RADICALISM IN
AMERICAN LITERARY AND INTELLECTUAL CIRCLES.

INVESTIGATION CONTINUING.

END

HOLD

RMS FBI WA DC

ACK FOUR TELS

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

NOV 10 1972

TELETYPE

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| Mr. Bell | _____ |
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| Mr. Dalbey | _____ |
| Mr. Gohhardt | _____ |
| Mr. Jenkins | _____ |
| Mr. Marshall | _____ |
| Mr. Miller, E.S. | _____ |
| Mr. P. Lee | _____ |
| Mr. Rogers | _____ |
| Mr. Walters | _____ |
| Tele. Room | _____ |
| Mr. Ehlberg | _____ |
| Mr. Strassberg | _____ |
| Mr. Harwig | _____ |
| Miss McConner | _____ |

MR. MARTIN
ROOM 1236

NR012 NY PLAIN

650PM NITEL 11-10-72 JAH
TO ACTING DIRECTOR
FROM NEW YORK 161-4254 8P

IRVING KRISTOL, AKA, SPI, BUDED NOVEMBER TEN,
INSTANT, WITHOUT FAIL

RE NEW YORK TEL, NOVEMBER NINE, LAST.

BIRTH VERIFIED AS JANUARY TWENTYTWO, NINETEEN TWENTY,
BROOKLYN, NY, CERTIFICATE NUMBER NINETEEN TWENTY-K FOUR FIVE
ONE EIGHT. FATHER, JOSEPH; MOTHER, BESSIE MAILEMAN, BOTH
BORN RUSSIA.

EMPLOYMENT

THE PUBLIC INTEREST, TEN WEST FIFTY THIRD STREET, NEW
YORK CITY, NEW YORK.

① [REDACTED] PERSONNEL SECRETARY, ADVISED KNOWS SEVEN
YEARS, IS CONSCIENTIOUS, DISCREET, INTELLIGENT, COURTEOUS,
INDIVIDUAL AND EXCELLENT WRITER. NOTHING UNFAVORABLE HAS

EVER COME TO ATTENTION. WOULD RECOMMEND HIGHLY FOR POSITION

END PAGE ONE

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PAGE TWO

OF TRUST AND CONFIDENCE. ADVISED APPOINTEE IS CO-FOUNDER AND CO-EDITOR OF PUBLICATION WITH PROFESSOR DANIEL BELL.

ON NOVEMBER NINE, LAST, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] RUSSELL SAGE FOUNDATION, NY, NY, ADVISED HAS KNOWN

APPOINTEE SEVEN OR EIGHT YEARS ON SOCIAL AND BUSINESS BASIS.

[REDACTED] IS MEMBER OF EDITORIAL BOARD OF "THE PUBLIC INTEREST."

STATED WOULD DESCRIBE APPOINTEE AS CONSERVATIVE TO THE POINT OF BEING A CONSERVATIVE CRITIC OF THE LIBERALS. STATED APPOINTEE IS AN INTELLECTUAL, IS A DISCREET, COURTEOUS,

CONSCIENTIOUS, HARD-WORKING INDIVIDUAL. NOTHING UNFAVORABLE KNOWN CONCERNING APPOINTEE. WOULD RECOMMEND FOR POSITION OF TRUST AND CONFIDENCE. STATED APPOINTEE WAS RESEARCH ASSOCIATE AT RUSSELL SAGE FOUNDATION IN NINETEEN SIXTY EIGHT AND SIXTYNINE, AND IS STILL MEMBER OF FOUNDATION.

THE FOLLOWING INVESTIGATION WAS CONDUCTED BY SA [REDACTED] ON NOVEMBER NINE, LAST, AT BASIC BOOKS, INCORPORATED, TEN EAST FIFTY THIRD STREET,

NEW YORK, NEW YORK:

(3) [REDACTED] OF MARKETING, ADVISED THAT IRVING KRISTOL WAS EMPLOYED IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCE DEPARTMENT OF THIS FIRM FROM MARCH, SIXTY, TO EXACT DATE NOT SPECIFIED, IN

END PAGE TWO

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PAGE THREE

SIXTYNINE. HE ADVISED KRISTOL RESIGNED FROM THIS FIRM DUE TO HIS APPOINTMENT AS HENRY LUCE PROFESSOR OF URBAN VALUES AT NEW YORK UNIVERSITY, NEW YORK. HE ADVISED THAT APPOINTEE WOULD BE ELIGIBLE FOR REHIRE. HE ADVISED THAT KRISTOL WAS EXECUTIVE VICE-PRESIDENT AND SENIOR EDITOR FOR SOCIAL SCIENCE DEPARTMENT OF THIS FIRM. HE STATED HE WAS FORMERLY ACQUAINTED WITH KRISTOL FOR SEVEN YEARS AND COULD FURNISH NO DEROGATORY INFORMATION REGARDING KRISTOL'S CHARACTER, MORALS, REPUTATION, ASSOCIATES, OR LOYALTY TO THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT. HE ADVISED THAT HE WOULD HIGHLY RECOMMEND KRISTOL FOR A POSITION OF TRUST WITH THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT.

4 [REDACTED] ADVISED THAT THIS FIRM IS A WHOLLY OWNED SUBSIDIARY OF HARPER AND ROW

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PUBLISHERS, INCORPORATED. HE ADVISED THAT KRISTOL WAS WITH THIS FIRM PRIOR TO HIS ARRIVAL AT THIS FIRM IN DECEMBER, SIXTYTHREE, AND THAT HE KNEW KRISTOL FROM THAT DATE UP TILL THE PRESENT TIME. HE STATED THAT KRISTOL WAS FORMERLY WITH "ENCOUNTER MAGAZINE" AND "COMMENTARY MAGAZINE". HE ADVISED THAT KRISTOL LEFT THIS FIRM IN JULY, SIXTYNINE, IN ORDER TO ASSUME THE HENRY LUCE CHAIR OF URBAN VALUES AT

END PAGE THREE

PAGE FOUR

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY, NEW YORK. HE ADVISED THAT KRISTOL CARES A LOT ABOUT THIS COUNTRY AND IS VERY MUCH INTERESTED IN ACHIEVING PERFECTION IN GOVERNMENT. HE STATED THAT HE CONSIDERS KRISTOL TO BE A FRIEND AND THAT HE COULD FURNISH NO DEROGATORY INFORMATION REGARDING KRISTOL'S CHARACTER, LOYALTY, MORALS, REPUTATION, OR ASSOCIATES. HE STATED THAT KRISTOL IS A PERSON OF EXTREMELY GOOD JUDGEMENT, WHO REACTS TO MATTERS OF GREAT CRISIS WITH GREAT CALM. IN CONCLUSION, HE ADVISED THAT HE WOULD HIGHLY RECOMMEND KRISTOL FOR A POSITION OF TRUST AND CONFIDENCE.

THE FOLLOWING INVESTIGATION WAS CONDUCTED ON NOVEMBER NINE, LAST, BY SA [REDACTED] AT "COMMENTARY MAGAZINE", ONE SIX

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FIVE EAST FIFTY SIXTH STREET, NEW YORK CITY, NEW YORK:

Q [REDACTED] AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE (AJC), ADVISED THAT THE AJC PUBLISHES "COMMENTARY MAGAZINE". SHE ADVISED FROM HER RECORDS KRISTOL WAS EMPLOYED AS MANAGING EDITOR OF "COMMENTARY MAGAZINE" FROM AUGUST ONE, NINETEEN FORTYSEVEN, TO JULY THREE, FIFTYTWO, AT WHICH TIME HE RESIGNED FOR ANOTHER JOB. SHE STATED THAT HE WOULD BE ELIGIBLE FOR RE-EMPLOYMENT AND THAT THERE WAS NO DEROGATORY

END PAGE FOUR

PAGE FIVE

INFORMATION IN HIS FILE. SHE ADVISED THAT KRISTOL HAD TERMINATED HIS EMPLOYMENT WITH THIS FIRM PRIOR TO HER ARRIVAL AND THAT, THEREFORE, SHE WAS NOT ACQUAINTED WITH THE APPOINTEE.

ON NOVEMBER TEN, NINETEEN SEVENTYTWO, SA [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] CONTACTED NORMAN PODHORETZ, EDITOR, "COMMENTARY MAGAZINE", ONE SIX FIVE EAST FIFTY SIXTH STREET, NEW YORK CITY, NY. HE ADVISED THAT HE HAS KNOWN IRVING KRISTOL SINCE NINETEEN FIFTYTWO, WHEN HE FIRST MET HIM IN ENGLAND, WHILE KRISTOL WAS EDITOR OF "ENCOUNTER MAGAZINE". HE STATED THAT KRISTOL HAD CONTACTED HIM TO ASCERTAIN IF HE WISHED TO SUBMIT ARTICLES TO "ENCOUNTER MAGAZINE" AS HE WAS A STUDENT IN ENGLAND AT THAT TIME. HE STATED THAT THEY MET ON A PURELY PROFESSIONAL BASIS IN THIS REGARD. HE ADVISED THAT KRISTOL IS A MAN OF HIGH MORAL CHARACTER WITH A DEEP SENSE OF LOYALTY TO THE UNITED STATES. HE ADVISED THAT HE WAS ACQUAINTED WITH THE FACT THAT KRISTOL WAS A FORMER MANAGING EDITOR OF "COMMENTARY MAGAZINE", BUT THAT KRISTOL HAD LEFT THIS FIRM PRIOR TO HIS (PODHORETZ) COMING TO THIS FIRM. HE ADVISED THAT HE COULD FURNISH NO DEROGATORY INFORMATION REGARDING APPOINTEE'S CHARACTER, MORALS, REPUTATION, ASSOCIATES AND/OR LOYALTY TO THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT. IN CONCLUSION, HE ADVISED THAT HE WOULD HIGHLY RECOMMEND KRISTOL FOR A POSITION OF TRUST WITH THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT.

END PAGE FIVE

PAGE SIX

NEIGHBORHOOD

NINETY RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK CITY, NEW YORK.

FOLLOWING INVESTIGATION CONDUCTED BY SA [REDACTED] ON NOVEMBER NINE, LAST: [REDACTED] CAPTIONED ADDRESS, ADVISED APPOINTEE AND FAMILY RESIDED APARTMENT FOUR A, THAT ADDRESS, OVER TEN YEARS. FAMILY INCLUDES [REDACTED] [REDACTED] WHO ATTENDS [REDACTED] REST OF FAMILY RESIDE THAT ADDRESS.

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[REDACTED] STATED APPOINTEE AND FAMILY ENJOY EXCELLENT REPUTATION IN APARTMENT HOUSE. APPOINTEE CONSIDERED OUTSTANDING INDIVIDUAL WHOSE CHARACTER, REPUTATION, ASSOCIATES, AND LOYALTY ABOVE REPROACH. RECOMMENDED APPOINTEE.

3 [REDACTED] APARTMENT [REDACTED] CAPTIONED ADDRESS, ADVISED HAS KNOWN APPOINTEE OVER TWENTY FIVE YEARS AS FRINED AND LAST TEN YEARS AS NEIGHBOR AND FRIEND. DESCRIBED APPOINTEE AS INTELLIGENT AND CAPABLE INDIVIDUAL IN THE
END PAGE SIX

PAGE SEVEN

LITERARY FIELD. STATED FAMILY ENJOYS EXCELLENT REPUTATION IN NEIGHBORHOOD AND HIGHLY RESPECTED. VOUCHERED FOR APPOINTEE'S CHARACTER, ASSOCIATES, REPUTATION, AND LOYALTY. RECOMMENDED HIGHLY.

9. [REDACTED] CAPTIONED ADDRESS, ADVISED HAS KNOWN APPOINTEE AND FAMILY OVER TEN YEARS. DESCRIBED FAMILY AS HIGHLY RESPECTED MEMBERS OF NEIGHBORHOOD. APPOINTEE KNOWN AS DIGNIFIED AND POLITE WHOSE CHARACTER, REPUTATION, ASSOCIATES, AND LOYALTY ABOVE REPROACH. RECOMMENDED HIGHLY.

10. [REDACTED] RESIDENT, CAPTIONED ADDRESS, ADVISED HAS KNOWN APPOINTEE TEN YEARS AS NEIGHBOR. DESCRIBED APPOINTEE AS WELL-EDUCATED AND INTELLIGENT. HIGHLY RESPECTED IN NEIGHBORHOOD. NO QUESTION CONCERNING APPOINTEE'S CHARACTER, ASSOCIATES, REPUTATION, AND LOYALTY. HIGHLY RECOMMENDED.

ONE TWO NINE FIVE DE KALB AVENUE, BROOKLYN, NEW YORK.

ON NOVEMBER NINE, LAST, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] ADVISED HE HAD LIVED IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD FOR THE PAST THREE YEARS. [REDACTED] SAID HE

END PAGE SEVEN

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PAGE EIGHT

COULD THINK OF NO ONE IN THE AREA WHO HAD LIVED THERE SINCE THE NINETEEN FORTIES. [REDACTED] STATED MOST OF NEIGHBORHOOD'S TENANTS HAD MOVED INTO THE AREA IN THE PAST FIVE YEARS. HE ADDED THAT THE CHARACTER OF THE NEIGHBORHOOD HAD CHANGED IN THE PAST FEW YEARS.

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ON NOVEMBER NINE, LAST, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] AND [REDACTED] CAPTIONED ADDRESS

SAID THEY COULD THINK OF NO ONE WHO HAS RESIDED IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD SINCE THE NINETEEN FORTIES.

INVESTIGATION CONTINUING. P.

END

PLS HOLD

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

NOV 10 1972

TELETYPE

| | |
|------------------|-------|
| Mr. Felt | _____ |
| Mr. Baker | _____ |
| Mr. Bishop | _____ |
| Mr. Callahan | _____ |
| Mr. Cleveland | _____ |
| Mr. Conrad | _____ |
| Mr. Dalbey | _____ |
| Mr. Gebhardt | _____ |
| Mr. Jenkins | _____ |
| Mr. Marshall | _____ |
| Mr. Miller, E.S. | _____ |
| Mr. Purvis | _____ |
| Mr. Soyars | _____ |
| Mr. Walters | _____ |
| Tele. Room | _____ |
| Mr. Kinley | _____ |
| Mr. Armstrong | _____ |
| Ms. Herwig | _____ |
| Mrs. Neenan | _____ |

NR015 NY PLAIN

632PM NITEL 11-10-72 PJR

TO ACTING DIRECTOR

FROM NEW YORK 161-4254 P. 7P

IRVING KRISTOL, AKA, SPECIAL INQUIRY, BUDED NOVEMBER TEN,
INSTANT WITHOUT FAIL.

RE NY TELETYPE, NOVEMBER TEN, INSTANT; NY AIRTEL,
NOVEMBER TEN, INSTANT; NY TELETYPE, NOVEMBER NINE LAST; NY
AIRTEL, NOVEMBER NINE, LAST; WFO TELETYPE, NOVEMBER NINE LAST;
ST. LOUIS TELETYPE, NOVEMBER NINE, LAST; NY TELETYPE, NOVEMBER
EIGHT LAST; AND BUREAU AIRTEL, NOVEMBER THREE LAST.

EMPLOYMENT:

THE REPORTER, NEW YORK, NEW YORK.

APPOINTEE ADVISED THIS PUBLICATION NO LONGER IN
EXISTENCE.

THE PUBLICATION SECTION, NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, NEW YORK,
NEW YORK, IN DECEMBER, FIFTY NINE, REFLECTED THAT THE REPORTER
MAGAZINE COMPANY, SIX SIX ZERO MADISON AVENUE, WAS THE PUBLISHING
END PAGE ONE

MR. MARTIN
ROOM 1246

161-71518-22

RECORDED
NOV 28 1972

DEC 18 1972 F470

PAGE TWO

COMPANY OF THE REPORTER AND THAT SIX SIX ZERO MADISON AVENUE WAS THE ADDRESS OF ITS EDITORIAL AND BUSINESS OFFICE. THE EDITOR WAS IRVING KRISTOL.

ASSOCIATES:

ON NOVEMBER NINE LAST [REDACTED] SELF EMPLOYED AUTHOR AND ONE OF THE DIRECTORS OF COWLES COMMUNICATIONS, INCORPORATED, THIRTY SIX SUTTON PLACE SOUTH, NY, NY, ADVISED SA [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] HE HAS KNOWN APPOINTEE SOCIALLY ABOUT TWELVE YEARS. HE DESCRIBED APPOINTEE AS EXTREMELY INTELLIGENT INDIVIDUAL WHO EXPRESSES HIMSELF WELL AND WHO ENJOYS EXCELLENT REPUTATION IN BOTH BUSINESS WORLD AND IN ACADEMIC WORLD. [REDACTED] STATED APPOINTEE IS COURTEOUS, ENGAGING, AND DIPLOMATIC IN HIS PERSONAL BEHAVIOR EVEN WHILE CLEARLY AND PRECISELY EXPRESSING HIS POLITICALLY CONSERVATIVE VIEWPOINTS. HIS PERSONAL DEMEANOR IS GENTLEMANLY AND MODERATE IN ALL RESPECTS; HE IS A MAN OF THE HIGHEST CHARACTER, ASSOCIATES, REPUTATION, AND LOYALTY, AND [REDACTED] STATED HE RECOMMENDED APPOINTEE FOR GOVERNMENT APPOINTMENT AT THE HIGHEST LEVEL.

END PAGE TWO

PAGE THREE

(2) ON NOVEMBER TEN INSTANT COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PROFESSOR

[REDACTED] NYC, ADVISED SA

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[REDACTED] HE HAS KNOWN APPOINTEE APPROXIMATELY THREE OR FOUR YEARS ON A SOCIAL BASIS AND AS A PARTICIPANT IN AN INFORMAL DISCUSSION GROUP WHICH MEETS IN NYC AND INCLUDES MANY PROMINENT INDIVIDUALS FROM ALL AREAS OF NYC LIFE. HE DESCRIBED APPOINTEE AS AN EXTREMELY INTELLIGENT, KNOWLEDGEABLE, AND WELL READ INDIVIDUAL WHO ARTICULATELY AND ELOQUENTLY EXPRESSES HIS POLITICALLY CONSERVATIVE VIEWPOINTS IN A COURTEOUS AND EFFECTIVE MANNER. PROFESSOR [REDACTED] STATED APPOINTEE ENJOYS AN EXCELLENT REPUTATION IN NYC AND IS A MAN OF THE HIGHEST CHARACTER WHO IS A LOYAL AMERICAN CITIZEN AND WHO ASSOCIATES WITH THE BEST ELEMENTS OF AMERICAN SOCIAL, BUSINESS, AND ACADEMIC LIFE. PROFESSOR [REDACTED] RECOMMENDED APPOINTEE FOR THE HIGHEST GOVERNMENT EMPLOYMENT.

(2) ON NOVEMBER TEN, INSTANT, [REDACTED] ATTORNEY,

[REDACTED] NY, NY, ADVISED SA [REDACTED]

HE HAS KNOWN APPOINTEE APPROXIMATELY TEN YEARS ON A SOCIAL

END PAGE THREE

PAGE FOUR

BASIS AND THROUGH THIS ASSOCIATION CONSIDERS HIM TO BE AN INTELLIGENT AND ORGANIZED THINKER AND A NOTABLY LEARNED AND WELL READ SOCIAL SCIENTIST. HE STATED APPOINTEE IS A CLEAR, ARTICULATE, AND COURTEOUSLY FORCEFUL EXPONENT OF POLITICALLY CONSERVATIVE VIEWPOINTS AND ENJOYS A REPUTATION AS A KNOWLEDGE-ABLE STUDENT OF THE POLITICAL PROCESS AND WORKINGS OF THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT. HE STATED APPOINTEE ENJOYS AN EXEMPLARY FAMILY LIFE, IS A MAN OF SOCIALLY MODERATE BEHAVIOR, AND A MAN OF EXCELLENT CHARACTER, ASSOCIATES, REPUTATION, AND LOYALTY WHOM HE COULD RECOMMEND FOR GOVERNMENT EMPLOYMENT AT THE HIGHEST LEVEL OF RESPONSIBILITY.

ARREST:

ON NOVEMBER TEN, INSTANT, SA AUGUST J. MICEK CAUSED THE RECORDS OF THE NEW YORK CITY POLICE DEPARTMENT (NYCPD) TO BE CHECKED BY DEPUTY INSPECTOR [REDACTED], BUREAU OF CRIMINAL IDENTIFICATION; PATROLMAN [REDACTED] INFORMATION UNIT; AND LIEUTENANT [REDACTED] OLD RECORD ROOM. THEY COULD LOCATE NO RECORD FOR IRVING KRISTOL; [REDACTED]

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END PAGE FOUR

PAGE FIVE

MISCELLANEOUS:

CENTURY CLUB, SEVEN WEST FORTY THIRD STREET, NEW YORK,

NEW YORK.

[REDACTED] ADVISED SA [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] ON NOVEMBER NINE LAST APPOINTEE MEMBER IN GOOD
STANDING SINCE NINETEEN SIXTY SEVEN. ADVISED APPOINTEE HAS
EXCELLENT REPUTATION AS INTELLECTUAL AND TRUE GENTLEMAN.
STATES HIS DEALINGS WITH APPOINTEE^E HAVE BEEN MOST PLEASANT
AND HAS HEARD NOTHING DEROGATORY ABOUT KRISTOL. ADVISED
APPOINTEE APPEARS TO BE A MAN OF HIGHEST CHARACTER, REPUTATION,
ASSOCIATES AND LOYALTY. RECOMMENDS WITHOUT RESERVATION.

COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS, FIFTY EIGHT EAST SIXTY
EIGHT STREET, NEW YORK, NEW YORK.

(5) [REDACTED]
ADVISED SA [REDACTED] ON NOVEMBER NINE LAST APPOINTEE
MEMBER SINCE JUNE FIVE, NINETEEN SEVENTY, BUT HOLDS NO
EXECUTIVE POSITION. STATES APPOINTEE VERY INACTIVE MEMBER
WHOM HE HAS NEVER PERSONALLY MET. STATES APPOINTEE KNOWN TO

END PAGE FIVE

PAGE SIX

HIM BY REPUTATION, WHICH IN ALL RESPECTS IS EXCELLENT. ADVISED
APPOINTEE NATIONALLY KNOWN EXPERT IN DOMESTIC AFFAIRS.
RECOMMENDS BASED ON EXCELLENT REPUTATION.

[REDACTED] ADVISED COUNCIL'S PRESIDENT, [REDACTED]
WHO PROBABLY KNOWS APPOINTEE WELL, CURRENTLY IN EUROPE.

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[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] ADVISED SA [REDACTED] NOVEMBER NINE LAST,
APPOINTEE KNOWN TO HIM BY REPUTATION ONLY. ADVISED HE WAS
NOT QUALIFIED TO COMMENT MORE SPECIFICALLY, BUT STATES NOTHING
OF DEROGATORY NATURE HAS COME TO HIS ATTENTION CONCERNING
APPOINTEE. COULD NOT RECOMMEND BECAUSE OF LIMITED PERSONAL
KNOWLEDGE.

⑦ [REDACTED] "FOREIGN AFFAIRS,"
WHICH PUBLICATION PUBLISHED BY CAPTIONED ORGANIZATION,
ADVISED SA [REDACTED] NOVEMBER NINE LAST APPOINTEE KNOWN TO
HIM BY REPUTATION AND THROUGH READING OF KRISTOL'S
PUBLISHED MATERIAL. ADVISED APPOINTEE HIGHLY KNOWLEDGEABLE
IN FIELD OF DOMESTIC AFFAIRS AND HIS WRITING IS EXCELLENT.
END PAGE SIX

PAGE SEVEN

STATES HE HAS NEVER HEARD ANYTHING DEROGATORY AND HIGHLY
RECOMMENDS.

ON NOVEMBER TEN INSTANT, DEPUTY INSPECTOR [REDACTED]
[REDACTED], SECURITY AND INVESTIGATION SECTION, NYCPD, ADVISED
SA MICEK THAT PAGE THREE OF JANUARY, SIXTY TWO, ISSUE OF
NEWSPAPER OF COMMITTEE TO SECURE JUSTICE FOR MARTIN SOBELL
CONTAINS AN ARTICLE REFLECTING THAT ONE IRVING KRISTOL
ADVOCATED RELEASE OF SOBELL.

THE FILES FURTHER REFLECT A REQUEST FROM U.S. CIVIL
SERVICE COMMISSION ON MARCH TWENTY TWO, LAST, CONCERNING
IRVING KRISTOL, AS HE WAS BEING CONSIDERED FOR A CONSULTANT
POSITION IN USIA.

INVESTIGATION CONTINUING.

END.

PLS HOLD

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PLS HOLD FOR A A PAPER CHANGE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

| | | | |
|--|-----------------------------------|--|--|
| REPORTING OFFICE PHOENIX | OFFICE OF ORIGIN BUREAU | DATE 11/10/72 | INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 11/9/72 |
| TITLE OF CASE IRVING KRISTOL | | REPORT MADE BY KERMIT F. JOHNSON | TYPED BY drc |
| | | CHARACTER OF CASE SPIN | |

REFERENCES: New York teletype to Bureau, 11/8/72.

-RUC-

ADMINISTRATIVE:

Professor ROBERT ALEXANDER NISBET was not located until late afternoon 11/9/72 at which time he was contacted telephonically by SA KERMIT F. JOHNSON.

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|------|-------|---------|------------|--|-------------|--|------------------------------|--|
| ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED | | | | | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> NONE | ACQUIT-TALS | CASE HAS BEEN: PENDING OVER ONE YEAR <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> NO PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> NO | | |
| CONVIC. | FUG. | FINES | SAVINGS | RECOVERIES | | | | | |
| APPROVED <i>[Signature]</i> | | | | | SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE | | | DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW | |
| COPIES MADE: 1 - Bureau 1 - Phoenix (161-541) | | | | | 23 NOT RECORDED 12 NOV 13 1972 | | | | |
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| Dissemination Record of Attached Report | | | | | Notations | | | | |
| Agency | | | | | <i>[Stamp]</i> | | | | |
| Request Recd. | | | | | | | | | |
| Date Fwd. | | | | | | | | | |
| How Fwd. | | | | | | | | | |
| By | | | | | | | | | |

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to:

Report of: SA KERMIT F. JOHNSON Office: PHOENIX
Date: 11/10/72
Field Office File #: PX 161-541 Bureau File #:
Title: IRVING KRISTOL

Character: SPECIAL INQUIRY

Synopsis:

ROBERT ALEXANDER NISBET, PHD., Professor, UA, Tucson, recommends KRISTOL as a man of outstanding abilities, excellent character, brilliant intellect, completely dedicated to America, and has outstanding capabilities.

-RUC-

DETAILS:

ROBERT ALEXANDER NISBET, PhD., Professor of History and Sociology, University of Arizona (UA), Tucson, Arizona, advised that he had been in the academic field for the past 40 years having been at the University of California prior to his recent move to the UA at Tucson, where he is Professor of History and Sociology. He has known IRVING KRISTOL since about 1962 having become acquainted in the academic world as well as both are writers and he has been in very close contact with KRISTOL during this period. He stated KRISTOL is a man outstanding in all respects, has a brilliant intellect, is a person of great courage, is very moderate in his views, has outstanding capabilities as an academician and writer. Dr. NISBIT stated that KRISTOL has done a lot of consultative work in many different projects and is well known in the academic field and is well regarded by all who know him. He said KRISTOL is a man of excellent character and is extremely well regarded. He said he is a moderate conservative in his political and economic philosophies and he, Dr. NISBET, would unhesitatingly recommend KRISTOL for any position of trust and confidence for which he would be considered.

FBI

Date: 11/10/72

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL
(Priority)

TO: ACTING DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, LOS ANGELES (161-2259) (P)

SUBJECT: IRVING KRISTOL, aka
Irving William Kristol
SPECIAL INQUIRY

Re Bureau teletype to Los Angeles, dated 11/3/72; New York teletype to the Bureau, dated 11/8/72; and St. Louis teletype to the Bureau, dated 11/9/72.

Enclosed for the Bureau are Exhibits A, B, C, and D, as set forth below:

On 11/8/72, the Library of the "Los Angeles Times", a major metropolitan Los Angeles, California, newspaper, was caused to be reviewed. The following articles were located concerning the appointee, IRVING KRISTOL:

"Protest Tide Seen Due to 'Mistaken Identity'"
Dated 2/24/66
(See Exhibit A)

"Last Chance for U.S. Is at Hand"
Dated 9/22/67
(See Exhibit B)

6 - Bureau (Encl. 4) **ENCLOSURE**
2 - Los Angeles

TEP/pla
(4)

NOT RECORDED

18 NOV 13 1972

Approved: *[Signature]*

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

LA 161-2259

"If No One Was Ever Corrupted By A Book,
Was Anyone Ever Improved By A Book?"
Dated 3/25/71
(See Exhibit C)

"Welfare: Best Intentions, Worst Results"
Dated 8/1/71
(See Exhibit D)

Investigation at Los Angeles continuing.

2 Part II - THURS., FEB. 24, 1966 Los Angeles Times 2

Protest Tide Seen Due to 'Mistaken Identity'

Claremont Speaker Notes 1960 Youths' 'Peculiar Nostalgia' for 1930 Miseries

THU FEB 24 1966

Youthful protesters of the affluent '60s may be experiencing a "peculiar nostalgia" for the miseries of the '30s, a noted political and social writer said Wednesday.

"I think it's a case of mistaken identity," Irving Kristol told an audience of 600 at Claremont Men's College, "between the beatnik Bohemian miseries of the '60s and the constructive miseries of the '30s."

"I find it positively bizarre," he said, "to hear middle-class children who will probably never belong to a trade union in their lives moaning songs of social and political protest."

Nostalgia Seen

Kristol attributed the phenomenon to "a peculiar nostalgia among those too young to remember (the 1930s)."

He was keynote speaker Wednesday at the opening of two days of "Seminars on the American Political Tradition" which is looking back at the depression decade at CMC this week.

The sessions are presenting prominent New Dealers of the '30s—members of Franklin Roosevelt's "Brain Trust" of authors, journalists and economists—in the seminars designed to give "the generation that doesn't remember" a real look at the 1930s.

At a symposium Wednesday night on the formative years of the New Deal (1930-33), Ernest K. Lindley, special assistant to the secretary of state; Raymond Moley of Newsweek's editorial staff and Rexford Guy Tugwell, political scientist-author, appeared as speakers. Nick B. Williams, editor of The Times, moderated the discussion.

Tugwell said that as of 1932, "Roosevelt hadn't dealt with national problems in any concerted way."

Lindley, however, said Roosevelt was "committed to some of the central

ideals" of the administrations of Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson and early "had ideas on social legislation, labor legislation and a shorter work week."

Moley outlined what he called the six phases of the New Deal from Roosevelt's election to 1935: foreign affairs; selection of a cabinet (mostly "mediocre"), the banking crisis, the famed 100 days of domestic legislation, revival of international complications and relief measures.

As opening speaker Wednesday, Kristol called the '30s a time when "American democracy suffered a nervous breakdown" and said the possibility of another breakdown "is with us now." "Men in the '20s were living in a prosperous, exuberant society. They had no idea what was coming and were totally unprepared for the collapse," he said.

(Exhibit A)

ENCLOSURE

161-11-E-24

TOPICAL COMMENT: SOUTH VIETNAM

Last Chance for U.S. Is at Hand

2-5-3
BY IRVING KRISTOL

I have, over these past years, been a supporter of the Administration's position on Vietnam. My support has not been uncritical, but it has been constant enough, at any rate, to lose me some old friends and make quite a few new enemies. I've not minded this too much: politics is like that, after all. But now I am nearing the end of my tether.

I still think that our intervention in South Vietnam was morally correct, politically prudent, and militarily feasible. I still think that it is neither possible nor desirable for us to "write off" Southeast Asia. But I have no great stomach for fighting endless, costly, and inconclusive wars. And I believe that, in the next several months, the burden of proof will be squarely upon the Administration to demonstrate that the war in South Vietnam holds out the prospect of ever reaching some kind of satisfactory conclusion, however modest the satisfaction.

What disturbs and distresses me about the present situation there is our apparent inability to do the two things that were always necessary to make our intervention successful. The first is to establish a viable South Vietnamese regime. The second is to establish a viable South Vietnamese army. Why we have been so unsuccessful at both these enterprises is something of a puzzle to me. But the fact of failure would seem to be beyond dispute.

Let me make it clear that I have no illusions about what a "viable South Vietnamese regime" might look like. I would not expect it to be perfectly democratic or perfectly liberal. Such governments are not easily come by in Asia (or elsewhere, for that matter). So long as it shows a decent respect for civilized opinion, so long as it is able to govern effectively, and above all so long as it represents the national aspirations of its people, a South Vietnamese regime would be—ought to be—acceptable to American public opinion. Something like the late Syngman

Irving Kristol is executive vice president and senior editor of Basic Books, and co-editor of The Public Interest. Formerly he was a co-editor of Encounter, managing editor of Commentary, and editor of Reporter magazine.

FBI SEP 22 1967

Rhee's regime in South Korea is the sort of thing I have in mind—a regime which, for all its flaws, did govern, and did permit a subsequent evolution toward representative government.

Why is there no Syngman Rhee in South Vietnam? And why is the ARVIN so incomparably inferior a fighting force to the ROK?



"Forward, men—wherever that is..."
Bastian in San Francisco Chronicle

Once again, I have no romantic expectations as to the kind of military effort it is reasonable to expect of the war-weary South Vietnamese people. Still, I simply cannot see why the American military cannot train and sustain an effective fighting force of, say, 100,000 South Vietnamese soldiers. We did it in Korea. Why can't we do it in Vietnam?

(Exhibit B)

161-7153-24
ENCLOSURE

As I have said, I don't know the answers to these questions. I suspect that our mess in Vietnam has something to do with a timidity of policy born of certain ideological inhibitions.

We are so fearful of seeming to be "colonialist" that we have refrained even from taking over the training of Vietnamese soldiers, attaching Vietnamese battalions to our own armed forces, reorganizing the ARVIN's incompetent officer class—to say nothing of intervening directly on the workings (or non-workings) of the civil government.

In Korea, the fact that we operated under a U.N. mandate permitted us to do such things with an easy conscience. In Vietnam, we seem terrified at the prospect of doing them on our own.

One can understand and respect such an inhibition. At one time, it may even have had a rational justification. But surely not now, when a half-million American soldiers are doing practically all the fighting! Whether it is wise to assume so massive an American responsibility in Vietnam is something about which it is possible to disagree. What makes absolutely no sense, however, is to assume the responsibility and let the power go.

The present debates over the escalation of the bombing or over the construction of an electronic "wall" along the northern frontier are less significant than they seem. The chances for a military victory are dim, and our political situation is hopeless, unless we can do something about establishing a South Vietnamese government and a South Vietnamese army with which we can be truly allied. We can defend friendly nations in Asia. We cannot defend non-nations, no matter how elaborate our military efforts and huge our military expenditures.

Maybe it is already too late for us to help a South Vietnamese nation to be created. But certainly these autumn months present us with our last chance.

(Exhibit B)
(continued)

ON PORNOGRAPHY AND CENSORSHIP

If no one was ever corrupted by a book,
was anyone ever improved by a book?

SUN MAR 28 1971
IRVING KRISTOL

Being frustrated is disagreeable, but the real disasters in life begin when you get what you want. For almost a century now, a great many intelligent, well-meaning and articulate people—of a kind generally called liberal or intellectual, or both—have argued eloquently against any kind of censorship of art and/or entertainment.

And within the past 10 years, the courts and the legislatures of most Western nations have found these arguments persuasive—so persuasive that hardly a man is now alive who clearly remembers what the answers to these arguments were. Today, in the United States and other democracies, censorship has to all intents and purposes ceased to exist.

Is there a sense of triumphant exhilaration in the land? Hardly. There is, on the contrary, a rapidly growing unease and disquiet. Somehow, things have not worked out as they were supposed to, and many notable civil libertarians have gone on record as saying this was not what they meant at all.

They wanted a world in which "Desire Under the Elms" could be produced, or "Ulysses" published, without interference by philistine

Irving Kristol is the Henry Luce Professor of Urban Values at New York University.

busybodies holding public office. They have got that, of course; but they have also got a world in which homosexual rape takes place on the stage, in which the public flocks during lunch hours to witness varieties of professional fornication.

But disagreeable as this may be, does it really matter? Might not our unease and disquiet be merely a cultural hangover — a "hangup," as they say? What reason is there to think that anyone was ever corrupted by a book?

This last question, oddly enough, is asked by the very same people who seem convinced that advertisements in magazines or displays of violence on television do indeed have the power to corrupt. It is also asked, incredibly enough and in all sincerity, by people—e.g., university professors and school teachers—

whose very lives provide all the answers one could want.

After all, if you believe that no one was ever corrupted by a book, you have also to believe that no one was ever improved by a book (or a play or a movie). You have to believe, in other words, that all art is morally trivial and that consequently, all education is morally irrelevant. No one, not even a university professor, really believes that.

To be sure, it is extremely difficult, as social scientists tell us, to trace the effects of any single book (or play or movie) on an individual reader or any class of readers. But we all know, and social scientists know it too, that the ways in which we use our minds and imaginations shape our characters and help define us as persons. That those who certainly know this are nevertheless moved to deny it merely indicates how a dogmatic resistance to the idea of censorship can—like most dogmatism—result in a mindless insistence on the absurd.

(Exhibit C)

161-1153-24

I have used these harsh terms—"dogmatism" and "mindless"—advisedly. I might also have added "hypocritical." For the plain fact is that none of us is a complete civil libertarian. We all believe that there is some point at which the public authorities ought to step in to limit the "self expression" of an individual or a group, even where this might be seriously intended as a form of artistic expression, and even where the artistic transaction is between consenting adults.

A playwright or theatrical director might, in this crazy world of ours, find someone willing to commit suicide on the stage, as called for by the script. We would not allow that—any more than we would permit scenes of real physical torture on the stage, even if the victim were a willing masochist.

The basic point that emerges is one that Walter Berns has powerfully argued in his superb essay, "Pornography vs. Democracy": No society can be utterly indifferent to

the ways its citizens publicly entertain themselves.

Bearbaiting and cockfighting are prohibited only in part out of compassion for the suffering animals; the main reason they were abolished was that it was felt they debased and brutalized the citizenry who flocked to witness such spectacles. And the question we face with regard to pornography and obscenity is whether, now that they have such strong legal protection from the Supreme Court, they can or will brutalize and debase our citizenry.

We are, after all, not dealing with one passing incident—one book, or one play, or one movie. We are dealing with a general tendency that is suffusing our entire culture.

I say pornography and obscenity because, though they have different dictionary definitions and are frequently distinguishable as "artistic" genres, they are nevertheless in the end identical in effect. Pornography is not objectionable simply because it arouses sexual desire or lust or prurience in the mind of the reader or spectator; this is a silly Victorian notion.

A great many nonpornographic works—including some parts of the Bible—excite sexual desire very successfully. What is distinctive about pornography is that, in the words of D. H. Lawrence, it attempts "to do dirt on (sex)." (It is an) insult to a vital human relationship."

In other words, pornography differs from erotic art in that its whole purpose is to treat human beings obscenely, to deprive human beings of their specifically human dimension. That is what obscenity is all about. It is light years removed from any kind of carefree sensuality—there is no continuum between Fielding's "Tom Jones" and the Marquis de Sade's "Justine." *C-2-5*

It may well be that Western society, in the latter half of the 20th century, is experiencing a drastic change in sexual mores and sexual relationships. We have had many such "sexual revolutions" in the past—and the bourgeois family and bourgeois ideas of sexual propriety were themselves established in the course of a revolution against 18th century "licentiousness"—and we shall doubtless have others in the future.

It is, however, highly improbable (to put it mildly) that what we are witnessing is the final revolution which will make sexual relations utterly unproblematic, permit us to dispense with any kind of ordered relationships between the sexes, and allow us freely to redefine the human condition. And so long as humanity has not reached that utopia, obscenity will remain a problem.

Sex—like death—is an activity that is both animal and human. There are human sentiments and human ideals involved in this animal activity. But when sex is public, the viewer does not see—cannot see—the sentiments and the ideals. He can only see the animal coupling.

And that is why, when men and women make love, as we say, they prefer to be alone—because it is only when you are alone that you can make love, as distinct from merely copulating in an animal and casual way. And that, too, is why those who are voyeurs, if they are not irredeemably sick, also feel ashamed at what they are witnessing. When sex is a public spectacle, a human relationship has been debased into a mere animal connection.

The basic psychological fact about pornography and obscenity is that it appeals to and provokes a kind of sexual regression. The sexual pleasure one gets from pornography and obscenity is autoerotic and infantile; to put it bluntly, it is a masturbatory exercise of the imagination, when it is not masturbation pure and simple. Now, people who masturbate do not get bored with masturbation, just as sadists don't get bored with sadism, and voyeurs don't get bored with voyeurism.

In other words, infantile sexuality is not only a permanent temptation for the adolescent or even the adult—it can quite easily become a permanent, self-reinforcing neurosis.

What is at stake is civilization and humanity, nothing less. The idea that "everything is permitted," as Nietzsche put it, rests on the premise of nihilism and its nihilistic implications. I will not pretend that the case against nihilism and for civilization is an easy one to make. We are here confronting the most fundamental of philosophical questions, on the deepest levels.

But that is precisely my point—that the matter of pornography and obscenity is not a trivial one, and that only superficial minds can take a bland and untroubled view of it.

In this connection, I might also point out that those who are primarily against censorship on liberal grounds tell us not to take pornography or obscenity seriously, while those who are for pornography and obscenity on radical grounds, take it very seriously indeed.

I believe the radicals—writers like Susan Sontag, Herbert Marcuse, Norman O. Brown, and even Jerry Rubin—are right, and the liberals are wrong. I also believe that those young radicals at Berkeley, some five years ago, who provoked a major confrontation over the public use of obscene words, showed a brilliant political instinct.

(Exhibit C)
(continued)

Once the faculty and administration had capitulated on this issue saying: "Oh, for God's sake, let's be adult: What difference does it make anyway?"—once they said that, they were bound to lose on every other issue. And once Mark Rudd could publicly ascribe to the president of Columbia a notoriously obscene relationship to his mother, without provoking any kind of reaction, the SDS had already won the day. The occupation of Columbia's buildings merely ratified their victory.

Men who show themselves unwilling to defend civilization against nihilism are not going to be either resolute or effective in defending the university against anything.

I am already touching upon a political aspect of pornography when I suggest that it is inherently and purposefully subversive of civilization and its institutions. But there is another and more specifically political aspect, which has to do with the relationship of pornography and/or obscenity to democracy, and especially to the quality of public life on which democratic government ultimately rests.

Though the phrase, "the quality of life," trips easily from so many lips these days, it tends to be one of those clichés with many trivial meanings and no large, serious one.

Rarely does it have anything to do with the way the citizen in a democracy views himself—his obligations, his intentions, his ultimate self-definition.

There is an old idea of democracy—one which was fairly common until about the beginning of this century—for which the conception of the quality of public life is absolutely crucial. This idea starts from the proposition that democracy is a form of self-government, and that if you want it to be a meritorious polity, you have to care about what kind of people govern it. Indeed, it puts the matter more strongly and declares that, if you want self-government, you are only entitled to it if that "self" is worthy of governing.

And because the desirability of self-government depends on the character of the people who govern, the older idea of democracy was very solicitous of the condition of this character. It was solicitous of that collective self which we call public opinion and which, in a democracy, governs us collectively.

And because it cared, this older idea of democracy had no problem in principle with pornography and/or obscenity. It censored them—and it did so with a perfect clarity of mind and a perfectly clear conscience. It was not about to permit people capriciously to corrupt themselves.

I have, it may be noticed, uttered that dreadful word, "censorship." And I am not about to back away from it. If you think pornography and/or obscenity is a serious problem, you have to be for censorship. I'll go even further and say that if you want to prevent pornography and/or obscenity from becoming a problem, you have to be for censorship. And lest there be any misunderstanding as to what I am saying, I'll put it as bluntly as possible: If you care for the quality of life in our American democracy, then you have to be for censorship.

But can a liberal be for censorship? Unless one assumes that being a liberal *must* mean being indifferent to the quality of American life, then the answer has to be: yes, a liberal can be for censorship—but he ought to favor a liberal form of censorship.

Is that a contradiction in terms? I don't think so. We have no problem in contrasting repressive laws governing alcohol and drugs and tobacco with laws regulating (i.e., discouraging the sale of) alcohol and drugs and tobacco. Laws encouraging temperance are not the same thing as laws that have as their goal prohibition or abolition.

We have not made the smoking of cigars a criminal offense. We have, however, and with good liberal conscience, prohibited cigaret advertising on television, and may yet, again with good liberal conscience, prohibit it in newspapers and magazines. The idea of restricting individual freedom, in a liberal way, is not at all unfamiliar to us.

I therefore see no reason why we should not be able to distinguish repressive censorship from liberal censorship of the written and spoken word.

This possibility, of course, occasions much distress among artists and academics. It is a fact, one that cannot and should not be denied, that any system of censorship is bound, upon occasion, to treat unjustly a particular work of art—to find pornography where there is only gentle eroticism, to find obscenity where none really exists, or to find both where its existence ought to be tolerated because it serves a larger moral purpose.

It is such works of art that are likely to suffer at the hands of the censor. That is the price one has to be prepared to pay for censorship—even liberal censorship.

But just how high is this price? If you believe, as so many artists seem to believe today, that art is the only sacrosanct activity in our profane and vulgar world—that any man who designates himself an artist thereby acquires a sacred office—then obviously censorship is an intolerable form of sacrilege. But for those of us who do not subscribe to this religion of art, the costs of censorship do not seem so high at all.

But I must repeat and emphasize: What kind of laws we pass governing pornography and obscenity, what kind of censorship or—since we are still a federal nation—what kinds of censorship we institute in our various localities may indeed be difficult matters to cope with; nevertheless the real issue is one of principle.

I myself subscribe to a liberal view of the enforcement problem: I think that pornography should be illegal and available to anyone who wants it so badly as to make a pretty strenuous effort to get it. We have lived with under-the-counter pornography for centuries now in a fairly comfortable way. But the issue of principle, of whether it should be over or under the counter, has to be settled before we can reflect on the advantages of alternative modes of censorship.

I think the settlement we are living under now, in which obscenity and democracy are regarded as equals, is wrong; I believe it is inherently unstable: I think it will, in the long run, be incompatible with any authentic concern for the quality of life in our democracy.

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(Exhibit C)
(continued)

Welfare: Best Intentions, Worst Results

SUN AUG 1 1971

BY IRVING KRISTOL

In 1835, Alexis de Tocqueville submitted an "Essay on Pauperism" to the Royal Academic Society of Cherbourg. The essay addressed itself to a striking contemporary paradox: Why, in the most "opulent" (we would say, more timidly, "affluent") nation in the world—that is, England—was there such an extraordinary problem of "pauperism"—(what we would now call "welfare": poor people on poor relief)?

In France and Spain and Portugal, he pointed out, the people were all much poorer than in England; and the average Spaniard was poor even in comparison with the English pauper on poor relief. But in none of these poorer countries was there a "pauper problem" of the kind that agitated English society and English politics. How could one account for that "apparently inexplicable" phenomenon?

Tocqueville's answer was twofold. First, urbanization and industrialization made the poor

more dependent on public charity for a minimum level of subsistence. In an agrarian economy, it was only in rare periods of famine that the poorest rural laborer could not get enough to eat—"enough" meaning here simply a diet that would avert starvation. In contrast, the poor in a modern city have no such normal, minimum guarantee; they are therefore in frequent need of public assistance, if they are to keep body and soul together.

Second, in an "opulent" society, the idea of poverty itself undergoes a continual redefinition. The poor experience not only the need for a guaranteed minimum; they also suffer from what a modern sociologist would call "relative deprivation." Tocqueville puts the matter this way:

"Among civilized peoples, the lack of a multitude of things

causes poverty In a country where the majority is ill-clothed, ill-housed, ill-fed, who thinks of giving clean clothes, healthy food, comfortable quarters to the poor? The majority of the English, having all these things, regard their absence as a frightful misfortune; society believes itself bound to come to the aid of those who lack them In England, the average standard of living a man can hope for in the course of his life is higher than in any other country of the world. This greatly facilitates the extension of pauperism in that kingdom."

But Tocqueville did not stop with this explanation—a persuasive and not particularly controversial explanation—of why wealthy nations have so many "paupers." He went on to assert that public assistance and

(Exhibit D)
(continued)(page 1)

161-1155-24

"pauperdom" existed in a symbiotic relationship, and he predicted that each would nourish the other, that both would inexorably grow.

Behind this remarkable prediction was a view of human nature. "There are," he wrote, "two incentives to work: the need to live and the desire to improve the conditions of life. Experience has proven that the majority of men can be sufficiently motivated to work only by the first of these incentives. The second is only effective with a small minority . . . A law which gives all the poor a right to public aid, whatever the origin of their poverty, weakens or destroys the first stimulant and leaves only the second intact."

At this point, we are bound to draw up short and take our leave of Tocqueville. Such gloomy con-

clusions, derived from a less than benign view of human nature, do not recommend themselves either to the 20th century political imagination or to the American political temperament. We do not like to think that our instincts of social compassion might have dismal consequences—not accidentally but inexorably. We simply cannot believe that the universe is so constituted.

We much prefer, if a choice has to be made, to have a good opinion of mankind and a poor opinion of our socioeconomic system. We shall, for instance, be more sympathetic, if not to the specific argument, then at

least to the general approach of "Regulating the Poor: The Function of Public Welfare" by Frances Fox Piven and Richard A. Cloward recently published by Pantheon.

Professors Piven and Cloward, both leading "activists" in the Welfare Rights Movement, have written a valuable book—but, alas, a confusing one. The confusion results from the two purposes they have in mind.

The first purpose, which they achieve in an excellent and even masterly way, is to answer the same question that perplexed Tocqueville: Why has there been such a fantastic "welfare explosion" in the United States? Specifically, why has there been such an extraordinary growth in our welfare population after 1964—after, that is, unemployment began to move down toward the unprecedented (in peacetime, anyway) low level of 3.5%? Between 1964 and 1968, we had general prosperity of a kind not known since World War II.

This prosperity was not, of course, shared equally by rich and poor, white and black; but all did demonstrably and substantially share in it. Nevertheless, it was precisely during those years, that the "welfare explosion" took place.

I do not think it is sufficiently appreciated by the public at large just how baffling this event was to our scholars and our policy makers in Washington. For half a decade, our best minds puzzled over the statistics, held innumerable conferences to discuss them, and got nowhere.

The only serious effort at explanation was made by Daniel Patrick Moynihan, in his famous and brilliant memorandum on the Negro family, in 1965. He called attention to the fact that most of the new welfare recipients were in the Aid to Dependent Children category, that a growing proportion of families in this category was black and fatherless, and that the disorganization of the Negro family seemed to have gathered a sociological momentum of its own—a momentum impervious to the effects of improving economic circumstances. Why this was happening to the Negro family, however, Mr. Moynihan could not convincingly explain. This permitted a great many liberal-minded scholars to spend all of their energies attacking him rather than the problem.

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But, eventually, any social phenomenon yields up its mystery. Or, to put it another way: Eventually, all social observers, no matter how blurred their vision may be by tacit ideological presuppositions, come to see the obvious. We now know what caused the "welfare explosion." I would also say—though this topic is still exceedingly controversial—that we are coming to realize what has been causing the disorganization of the Negro family.

All the facts are lucidly and authoritatively presented by Professors Piven and Cloward. Unfortunately, they have felt compelled to wrap their findings in a thin, transparently false general theory of welfare in a capitalist society.

This general theory is so simple-minded, so crude in a quasi-Marxist way, that one is embarrassed to

The author is Henry Luce professor of Urban Values at New York University. His article is from The Atlantic.

(Exhibit D)
(continued)(page 2)

summarize it. I will therefore let the authors state it for themselves:

"... Relief arrangements (under capitalism) are not shaped by the impulse to charity... (they are) created and sustained to help deal with the malfunctions inherent in market economies.

"Relief arrangements are usually initiated or expanded in response to the political disorders that sometimes follow from the sharp economic downturns or dislocations that periodically beset market systems. The purpose of relief-giving at such times is not to ease hunger and want but to deal with civil disorder among the unemployed. Once stability is restored, however, the relief system is not ordinarily eliminated. Instead, it is reorganized to buttress the normal incentives of the labor market. This is done in two ways.

★

"The main way is by cutting the 'able-bodied' off the rolls, whether or not there are jobs, and whether or not the wages offered are sufficient for survival. Second, some of those who cannot work or who are not needed in the labor market are allowed to continue on the relief rolls, but they are treated so barbarously as to make of them a class of pariahs whose degradation breeds a fear and loathing of pauperism among the laboring classes."

Now, the objections to this theory—on historical, sociological, and economic grounds—are too numerous to mention. But one objection ought to be definitive: it does not explain what Piven-Cloward elsewhere in the book explain so well—that is, the "welfare explosion" of the 1960s. True, this "welfare explosion" coincided with rioting in the black slums. But according to the general theory, the poor in the black slums should not have been rioting at all, since the economy was booming and black unemployment was at an all-time low; and if they did riot, it should have been because they were being pushed off welfare into low-paying jobs. In fact, they were rioting while they were going on welfare in ever increasing numbers—and while welfare payments were being increased, not while they were being cut back.

The true explanation of the "welfare explosion" is available to any

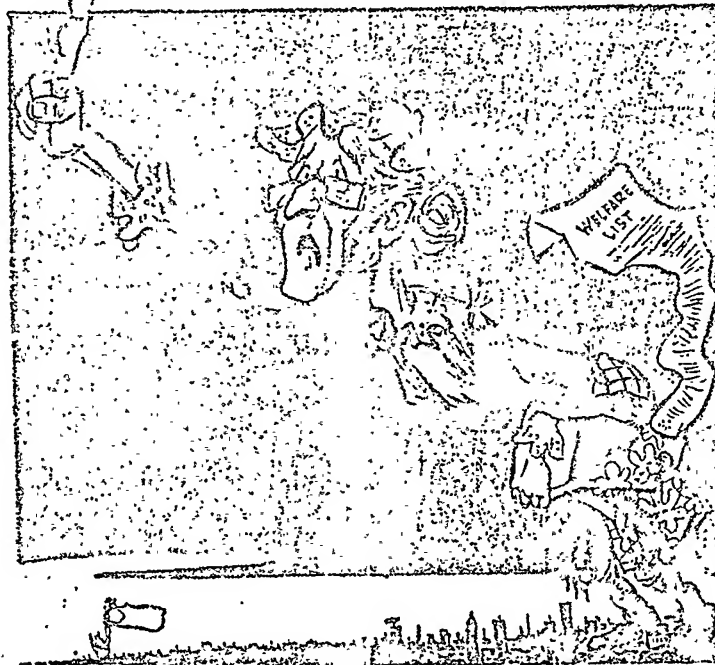
reader of "Regulating the Poor" who will ignore the authors' general theory. (This is easily done: once they have stated the theory, they happily forget all about it when discussing the 1960s.) This "explosion" was created—in part intentionally, in larger part unwittingly—by public officials and public employees who were executing public policies as part of a "war on poverty." And these policies had been advocated and enacted by many of the same people who were subsequently so bewildered by the "welfare explosion." Not surprisingly it took them a while to realize that the problem they were trying to solve was the problem they were creating.

Here, as related in Piven-Cloward's book, are the reasons behind the "welfare explosion" of the 1960s:

1—The number of poor people who are eligible for welfare will increase as one elevates the official definitions of "poverty" and "need." The war on poverty elevated these official definitions; therefore, an increase in the number of "eligibles" automatically followed.

2—The number of eligible poor who actually apply for welfare will increase as welfare benefits go up—as they did throughout the 1960s. When welfare payments (and associated benefits, such as Medicaid and food stamps) compete with low wages, many poor people will rationally prefer welfare. In New York City today, as in many other large cities, welfare benefits not only compete with low wages: they outstrip them.

3—The reluctance of people actually eligible for welfare to apply for it—a reluctance based on pride or ignorance or fear—will diminish if an organized campaign is instituted to "sign them up." Such a campaign was successfully launched in the 1960s by (a) various community organizations sponsored and financed by the Office of Economic Opportunity, (b) the Welfare Rights Movement, and (c) the social work profession, which was now populated by college graduates who thought it their moral duty to help people get on welfare—instead of, as used to be the case, helping them get off welfare. In addition, the courts coop-



Dobbins, Boston Herald Traveler

"We're Number One!"

erated by striking down various legal obstacles (for example, residence requirements).

In summary, one can say that the "welfare explosion" was the work, not of "capitalism" or of any other "ism," but of men and women like Miss Piven and Mr. Cloward—in the Welfare Rights Movement, the social work profession, the Office of Economic Opportunity, and so on. It would be nice to think that the "general theory" in "Regulating the Poor" was devised mainly out of an excess of modesty.

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It should be emphasized that Piven-Cloward think the "welfare explosion" is a good thing. They believe more people should be on welfare and that these people should get far more generous benefits than now prevail. One would expect, therefore, that this book would have a triumphant tone to it. Yet it does not. Indeed, it ends rather abruptly, in a minor key.

The reason, one suspects, is that even Piven-Cloward must be less than certain about what they have accomplished. Somehow, the fact that more poor people are on welfare, receiving more generous payments, does not seem to have made this country a nicer place to live—not even for the poor on welfare, whose condition seems not noticeably better than when they were poor and off welfare. Something appears to have gone wrong: A liberal and compassionate social policy has bred all sorts of unanticipated and perverse consequences.

One such perverse consequence, and surely the most important, is the disorganization and demoralization of the Negro family. It used to be thought that a generous welfare program, liberally administered, would help poor families stick together. We now find that as many poor black families are breaking up after they get on welfare as before they got on; and that, in general, the prospect of welfare does nothing to hold a poor family together.

Mr. Moynihan was percipient in emphasizing, back in 1965, that there was a connection between family disorganization and the influx of poor black female-headed families to

welfare. What we can now see is that the existence of a liberal welfare program might itself have been responsible, to a significant extent, for this family disorganization.

One must emphasize here that the question of race or ethnicity is of secondary importance. It is true that the Negro family has experienced historical vicissitudes that make it a relatively vulnerable institution. But it is also probable—I would go so far as to say certain—that if the Irish immigrants in 19th century America had had something comparable to our present welfare system, there would have been a "welfare explosion" then, and a sharp increase in Irish family disorganization, too.

The family is, in our society, a vital economic institution. Above all, welfare robs the head of the household of his economic function, and tends to make of him a "superfluous man." Welfare, it must be remembered, *competes* with his (usually low) earning ability; and the more generous the welfare program, the worse he makes out in this competition.

Is it surprising, then, that—unmanned and demoralized—he removes himself from family responsibilities that no longer rest on his shoulders? That he drifts out of his home—or is even pushed out of his home—into the male street-corner society of the slum? One wonders how many white middle-class families would survive if mother and children were guaranteed the father's income (or more) without the father's presence? And how many white middle-class fathers would, under these circumstances, persist at their not-always-interesting jobs?

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To raise such questions is to point to the fundamental problems of our welfare system, a vicious circle in which the best of intentions merge into the worst of results. It is not easy to imagine just how we might break out of this vicious circle. One might suggest, however, that we begin by going back and reading Tocqueville more respectfully. We may not find the truth in him; but the exercise may help liberate us from our own 20th century illusions.

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F B I

Date: 11/10/72

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: ACTING DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, WFO (161-8580) (~~REG~~)

IRVING KRISTOL, aka
Irving William Kristol
SPECIAL INQUIRY
Buded: 11/10/72, Without Fail

Re Bureau Teletype to WFO 11/3/72.
Bureau Airtel to WFO 11/3/72
New York Teletype to Bureau 11/8/72.
WFO Teletype to New York 11/9/72.
St. Louis Teletype to Bureau 11/9/72.

ENCLOSURES:

- Exhibit A - Report of [redacted] dated March 9, 197^{b6}_{b7c}
at Washington, D. C.
- Exhibit B - Report of [redacted], dated
March 15, 1972, at New York.
- Exhibit C - Report of [redacted] dated
March 24, 1972, at New York. ST-113
- Exhibit D - Report of [redacted], dated
March 30, 1972, at London.
- Exhibit E - Report of [redacted] dated REC-64
April 3, 1972, at New York. 25
- Exhibit F - Report of [redacted] dated NOT RECORDED
April 5, 1972, at New York. NOV 28 1972
- Exhibit G - Report of [redacted] dated
April 5, 1972.
- Exhibit H - Report of [redacted] dated
April 7, 1972, at Stanford, California.
- Exhibit I - Report of [redacted], dated
April 12, 1972, at Washington, D. C.
- Exhibit J - New York Times article appearing in letters
to Editor on February 16, 1960.

1-Bureau
1-WFO
RMS:bas
(2)

LEADS: WFO

IRS; STATE PASSPORT

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

WFO 161-8580

RMS:SJP

EMPLOYMENT
White House Office (WHO)

SA [] The following investigation at WHO was conducted by
[] on November 7, 1972.

b6
b7C

The files of the Personnel Office WHO contain no record for the appointee, IRVING KRISTOL.

The files of the Records Office WHO contain the following information concerning the appointee:

2/16/72 Commission dated member, National Council on the Humanities, Term expiring January 26, 1978.

There was no record for the organizations, "Vice President's Task Force on Income Maintenance" or "President-Elect's Task Force on Voluntary Urban Action".

WFO 161-8580

RMS:dom

1

SA [] caused a search to be made of the security files of the Office of Investigations and Emergency Preparedness, Office of the Assistant Secretary for Administration and Management, United States Department of Labor (USDL). A review of the file that was made available on November 7, 1972, disclosed that the appointee was being considered to attend an Interstate Conference on Labor Statistics, 5/26/67.

b6
b7c

That file revealed no additional pertinent information.

WFO 161-8580
RMS:SJP

United States Information Agency (USIA)

The official personnel file for IRVING WILLIAM KRISTOL at USIA, reviewed on November 9, 1972 by SA [REDACTED] verified the following U.S. Government employment:

b6
b7C

- 5/25/72 Excepted appointment, not to exceed July 31, 1972, as a Consultant (Intermittent), Office of Research and Assessment, USIA, Washington, D.C. with compensation at the rate of \$127.00 per day, when actually employed.
- 8/1/72 Extension of above appointment, not to exceed December 31, 1972. Appointee is presently on the rolls in this capacity.

A letter in file dated November 15, 1971 to KRISTOL from ALBERT E. HEMSING, Chief Inspector, USIA indicated that the appointee was being appointed a Consultant at USIA to enable him to serve as a Public Member of a USIA Foreign Service Inspection Team traveling to Yugoslavia during June, 1972. The extension of his appointment on August 1, 1972 was to enable USIA to invite him back to discuss points raised in the inspection of USIA posts in Yugoslavia. The personnel file listed appointee's birthdate as January 22, 1920 in New York City.

A Security file for KRISTOL at USIA, reviewed on November 9, 1972 by SA [REDACTED] reflected that he was granted "Top Secret" security clearance on April 27, 1972 by USIA, based on a 1972 investigation by the Civil Service Commission, in order that he might serve as a Public Member of an inspection team traveling to Yugoslavia. This clearance is still in effect at USIA.

On November 9, 1972 [REDACTED] Secretary, Inspection and Audit Staff, Office of Research & Assessment, USIA advised SA [REDACTED] that the Chief Inspector, ALBERT E. HEMSING is presently traveling overseas on an inspection and is unavailable for interview. She indicated that the other three members of the inspection team which traveled to Yugoslavia during June, 1972, [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] are all overseas on other inspections and are unavailable for interview.

WFO 161-8580

RMS:SJP

2

On November 9, 1972 [redacted] Staff Assistant, Inspection & Audit Staff, Office of Research & Assessment, USIA advised SA [redacted] that her records reflected that KRISTOL served as a member of the Yugoslavia inspection team from June 5 - 23, 1972 and had come into USIA in Washington, D.C. twice since then to discuss the inspection results. [redacted] indicated that she had known the appointee casually in an official capacity during this short period and was very favorably impressed by him. She reported that she has no reason to doubt his loyalty to the U.S. and added that his character, reputation and integrity appeared to be very good. She remarked that she did not feel she knew the appointee well enough personally to be able to recommend him. [redacted] mentioned that the other inspectors who made the same Yugoslavia trip with KRISTOL are all unavailable at the present time.

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b7c

On November 9, 1972 [redacted] (Inspections), Inspection and Audit Staff, Office of Research and Assessment, USIA advised SA [redacted] that he had known KRISTOL very briefly in a professional capacity during the period the appointee served as a Public Member of an inspection team which traveled to Yugoslavia. He indicated that he did not travel with the team but had some contacts with them prior to their departure and after their return. [redacted] reported that he did not feel he knew KRISTOL well enough personally to be able to recommend him for a clearance but he has no reason to feel that he should be denied a clearance. He added that the appointee worked hard, had a lot of ideas, and made quite a good impression while serving on the inspection team.

On November 9, 1972 [redacted] [redacted] to the U.S. Advisory Commission on Information, USIA advised SA [redacted] that she had served as secretary to the inspection team which traveled to Yugoslavia during June, 1972 and had known IRVING KRISTOL in an official capacity as a member of that team. [redacted] mentioned that the appointee spent about two weeks in Yugoslavia on the inspection and had to leave early due to other commitments. He spent a portion of his time traveling to other cities in Yugoslavia inspecting USIA offices in these cities, so he spent less time in Belgrade, Yugoslavia than some of the other members of the team. [redacted] stated that while she does not know appointee well personally, she certainly has

WFO 161-8580

RMS:SJP

3

no reason to question his character, reputation, loyalty or integrity. She mentioned that he did not drink to excess and conducted himself properly at all times in Yugoslavia. She recommended him for a clearance for government employment.

On November 7, 1972, [redacted] Assistant Personnel Officer, National Council on the Humanities, made available the following information, regarding the appointee, from his official personnel file:

DOB: January 22, 1920

POB: New York City

SSN: 098-12-0933

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The file reflected the fact that the appointee is serving on the Council by virtue of a Presidential Appointment as provided under Public Law 89-209; the appointment is dated February 16, 1972 and is effective until January 26, 1978.

[redacted] advised that [redacted] would know the appointee and is [redacted] of the Council on the Humanities.

[redacted] National Council on the Humanities, advised SA [redacted] on November 7, 1972 that he has known the appointee for approximately one year. His association with the appointee has been both professional and social and began when the appointee became a member of the council. He considers the appointee to be intelligent and circumspect. The appointee has the ability to recognize the complex problems of administration and is able to formulate solutions to the problems. [redacted] seeks the advice of the appointee on problems of administration and is never left to question the solutions put forth by the appointee. The appointee is a most valuable member of the Council. Due to the fact that members of the Council are located throughout the country and meet infrequently, most would not have the close association with the appointee that [redacted] has enjoyed. He considers the appointee to be eminently qualified for a position of trust and confidence with the United States Government. The appointee's character, loyalty, associates and reputation are of the highest caliber.

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REFERENCES

U.S. Senate

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[redacted] The following investigation was conducted by SA [redacted]
[redacted] on November 9, 1972.

[redacted] Administrative Assistant to U.S. Senator JAMES L. BUCKLEY, New York, advised the Senator is unavailable and he is authorized to speak for him. The appointee is known to the Senator and he would not interpose any objection to his appointment to a position of trust and confidence.

[redacted] Office of U.S. Senator JACOB K. JAVITS, New York, advised the Senator is unavailable and she is authorized to speak for him. The appointee is known to the Senator as a friend and he has known him for many years. The Senator thinks highly of the appointee and would recommend him for a position of trust and confidence.

[redacted] Administrative Assistant to U.S. Senator Assistant to U.S. Senator HUBERT H. HUMPHREY, Minnesota, advised the Senator is unavailable and he is authorized to speak for him. The Senator has known the appointee for over 20 years. The appointee is a capable dependable and trustworthy person. The Senator would recommend him for a position of trust and confidence.

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The following investigation was conducted by
SA PERRY SPEEVACK on November 10, 1972, at Washington,
D. C.:

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[REDACTED] of Economics Brookings
Institute, Washington, D. C., advised that he has known the
appointee since approximately 1967. He advised that he
has had only professional contact with the appointee.

He advised that the appointee has published articles
for him in the magazine "Public Interest" which the appointee
edits. He stated that he has never had a reason to doubt
the appointee's character, associates, reputation or loyalty,
and that he would recommend the appointee for a position of
trust and confidence with the United States Government.

WFO 161-8580

RMS:bas

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On November 10, 1972, Allen Otten, Chief, Washington Bureau, Wall Street Journal, advised SA [REDACTED] b6 b7C that he has known the appointee approximately twenty five years. He considers the appointee to be a superb individual having a stable, consistent personality. He has known the appointee both professionally and socially and considers him to be an intellectual who is consistent in his views but is willing to listen to and evaluate the views presented by others. The appointee has unquestioned loyalty and his character, associates and reputation are of the highest caliber. Mr. Otten highly recommends the appointee for a position of trust and confidence with the United States Government.

WFO 161-8580

RMS:SJP

CREDIT AND POLICE AGENCIES

SC [] caused a search to be made of the files of the Credit Bureau, Incorporated, Washington, D.C., and was advised on November 7, 1972 that the files contained no record for the appointee.

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On November 7, 1972 SC [] searched the files of the U.S. Park Police and no identifiable record could be found concerning the appointee.

On November 7, 1972 SC [] determined that no record was contained in the Metropolitan Police Department files concerning the appointee. It is to be noted that at all times an indefinite number of unidentifiable records are out of file and not available for review.

MISCELLANEOUS

On November 8, 1972, SC [] caused a search to be made of the files of the House Committee on Internal Security and was advised that no identifiable record was found concerning the appointee.

On November 7, 1972 SC [] caused a search to be made of the files of the U.S. Department of the Treasury and was advised that no record was found concerning the appointee.

On November 7, 1972 SC [] reviewed the main card index, at the Library of Congress, which revealed the following information concerning the appointee:

JA 84
U5 K73

KRISTOL, IRVING

On the democratic idea in America. (1st Edition) New York, Harper and Row (1972)

LA 220
.B38

WFO 161-8580

RMS:SJP

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KRISTOL, IRVING, Joint Comp.

Bell, Daniel, Comp.

Confrontation; The Student Rebellion and the Universities
edited by DANIEL BELL and IRVING KRISTOL. New York, Basic Books
(1969).

HB 501

.C 2426

KRISTOL, IRVING, Joint Editor

Capitalism Today. Edited by DANIEL BELL and IRVING
KRISTOL. New York, Basic Books. (1971).

On November 9, 1972, SC [] caused a search to be made of the files of the Bureau of Personnel Investigations, Civil Service Commission, and was advised that the following reports were on file for the appointee:

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- Exhibit A - Report of [] dated March 9, 1972, at Washington, D.C.
- Exhibit B - Report of [] dated March 15, 1972, at New York.
- Exhibit C - Report of [] dated March 24, 1972, at New York.
- Exhibit D - Report of [] dated March 30, 1972, at London.
- Exhibit E - Report of [] dated April 3, 1972, at New York.
- Exhibit F - Report of [] dated April 5, 1972, at New York.
- Exhibit G - Report of [] dated April 5, 1972.
- Exhibit H - Report of [] dated April 7, 1972, at Stanford, California.
- Exhibit I - Report of [] dated April 12, 1972, at Washington, D.C.

There was no derogatory information contained in the above investigation by the United States Civil Service Commission. Copies of the above reports are being made a part of this airtel.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

NOV 11 1972

TELETYPE

NR003 PH PLAIN

130AM NITEL 11-11-72 JJR

TO ACTING DIRECTOR

FROM PHILADELPHIA (161-1980) RUC

IRVING KRISTOL, SPIN

RE NEW YORK TELETYPE TO PHILADELPHIA, DATED NOVEMBER EIGHT, ONE NINE SEVEN TWO.

ON NOVEMBER TEN, ONE NINE SEVEN TWO, PROFESSOR EDWARD BANFIELD, UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA, PHILADELPHIA, PA., ADVISED HE HAS KNOWN APPOINTEE FOR MANY YEARS IN A PROFESSIONAL STATUS AND HAS WORKED WITH HIM ON OCCASION. BANFIELD DESCRIBED APPOINTEE AS A TRULY GREAT MAN, WHO IS EXTREMELY CREATIVE AND FULL OF WELL THOUGHT OUT IDEAS. THESE IDEAS ARE GROUNDED ON FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES OF AN AMERICAN SOCIETY AS EXPRESSED BY THE FOUNDING FATHERS. BANFIELD STATED APPOINTEE HAS EXTRA DASH ORDINARY TALENTS AND IS AN EXTREMELY PERSUASIVE WRITER, WHO HAS MANY "IRONS IN THE FIRE" AND HANDLES THEM ALL EXCELLENTLY AND WITH APPARENT EASE.

BANFIELD ADDED THAT APPOINTEE ALSO HAS FOUND TIME TO BECOME QUITE SUCCESSFUL IN THE STOCK MARKET AND IS A VERY SHREWD MAN, WHO IS AN EXTREMELY DEDICATED AND HARD WORKER.

END PAGE ONE

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| Mr. Felt | |
| Mr. Baker | |
| Mr. Bishop | |
| Mr. Callahan | |
| Mr. Cleveland | |
| Mr. Conrad | |
| Mr. Dalbey | |
| Mr. Gellhardt | |
| Mr. Jenkins | |
| Mr. Marshall | |
| Mr. Miller, E.S. | |
| Mr. Purvis | |
| Mr. Soyars | |
| Mr. Walters | |
| Tele. Room | |
| Mr. Kinley | |
| Mr. Armstrong | |
| Ms. Herwig | |
| Mrs. Neenan | |

MR. MARTIN
ROOM 1246

NOT RECORDED
5 NOV 28 1972

DEC 18 1972 F-470

PAGE TWO

BANFIELD ADVISED HE CONSIDERS APPOINTEE A LOYAL AMERICAN, BUT THAT AS A YOUTH, HE WAS A YOUNG RADICAL ALONG WITH MANY OTHER NEW YORK INTELLECTUALS. BANFIELD STATED APPOINTEE OUTGREW THIS RADICALISM AT A VERY EARLY AGE AND NOW LOOKS BACK AND LAUGHS AT HIS YOUTHFUL EXUBERANCE. BANFIELD ADVISED ALL OF THIS IS A MATTER OF PUBLIC RECORD AND IS CERTAINLY NOTHING THAT THE APPOINTEE IS TRYING TO HIDE. BANFIELD STATED HE COULD NOT REMEMBER THE NAMES OF ANY OF THE PEOPLE OR ORGANIZATIONS WITH WHICH APPOINTEE HAD BEEN ASSOCIATED DURING THIS PERIOD.

BANFIELD DEFINED APPOINTEE'S ^{RA 1/27/51} ~~INTELLECTUALISM~~ AS A LEFT DASH WING SOCIALIST ATTITUDE. BANFIELD ADVISED WHILE HE WAS ^{NOT} ~~IN~~ ^{ed} ACQUAINTANCE WITH APPOINTEE DURING THIS PERIOD, HE HAS HEARD APPOINTEE TALK OF THE DAYS WHEN HE WAS PART OF A GROUP OF NEW YORK JEWISH INTELLECTUALS, WHO HAD PROGRESSIVE IDEAS ABOUT BETTERING SOCIETY. BANFIELD ADVISED APPOINTEE, TO HIS KNOWLEDGE, WAS NEVER AFFILIATED WITH COMMUNIST PARTY OR ANY GROUP ADVOCATING OVERTHROW OF UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

END PAGE TWO

PAGE THREE

BANFIELD STATED HE BELIEVED NORMAN PODHORETZ WROTE AN
ARTICLE IN "COMMENTARY MAGAZINE" SEVERAL YEARS AGO ABOUT
PEOPLE TO WHICH BANFIELD WAS REFERRING.

BANFIELD HIGHLY RECOMMENDED THE APPOINTEE WITHOUT
HESITATION.

END

TJT FBI WASH DC CLR

F B I

Date: 11/13/72

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: ACTING DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, WFO (161-8580) (P)

IRVING KRISTOL, aka
Irving William Kristol
SPECIAL INQUIRY
Buded: 11/10 Without Fail

Re WFO airtel to Bureau, 11/10/72.

1 - Bureau
1 - WFO

RMS:bjs
(2)

1-476

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Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

WFO 161-8580

RMS:bjs

1

MISCELLANEOUS

(State Passport Office, Department of State)
United States Government records, reviewed on
November 10, 1972, by [redacted] disclosed that IRVING
KRISTOL was issued official passport number Y-1072424, issued
on May 12, 1972, at Washington, D. C. for a twenty-days' visit
for the purpose of "USIA Inspection Team". No other travel
plans were given. The appointee listed his birth date as Jan-
uary 22, 1920 at New York, New York and the file reflects that
his previous passport was seen as identification.

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On March 9, 1972, appointee was issued passport number
C-1161888 at New York for a two-months' visit to Israel, Yugo-
slavia, Western Europe, for the purpose of "Tourism".

On January 6, 1967, appointee was issued passport
number H-1042133 at New York for a three-weeks' visit to United
Kingdom and Germany for the purpose of "Tourism".

Appointee stated that he was issued passport number
2116921 on April 26, 1960; however, at this time can not be
located.

NR007 NY PLAIN

530PM NITEL 11-13-72 CJR

TO ACTING DIRECTOR

FROM NEW YORK 161-4254

3P

NOV 13 1972

TELETYPE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

| | |
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| Mr. Felt | _____ |
| Mr. Baker | _____ |
| Mr. Bishop | _____ |
| Mr. Callahan | _____ |
| Mr. Cleveland | _____ |
| Mr. Conrad | _____ |
| Mr. Dalbey | _____ |
| Mr. Gebhardt | _____ |
| Mr. Jenkins | _____ |
| Mr. Marshall | _____ |
| Mr. Miller, E.S. | _____ |
| Mr. Purvis | _____ |
| Mr. Soyars | _____ |
| Mr. Walters | _____ |
| Tele. Room | _____ |
| Mr. Kinley | _____ |
| Mr. Armstrong | _____ |
| Ms. Herwig | _____ |
| Mrs. Neenan | _____ |

IRVING WILLIAM KRISTOL, AKA, SPECIAL INQUIRY, BUDED NOVEMBER
TEN LAST.

RENYTEL NOVEMBER THIRTEEN.

ON NOVEMBER THIRTEEN INSTANT, APPOINTEE ADVISED THAT
FROM SEPTEMBER NINETEEN FORTY SIX TO JULY NINETEEN FORTY
SEVEN HE WAS LIVING IN CAMBRIDGE, ENGLAND, AND WRITING A
BOOK. HE STATED THAT FROM JULY NINETEEN FIFTY TWO TO FEBRUARY
NINETEEN FIFTY THREE HE WAS EMPLOYED BY THE AMERICAN COMMITTEE
FOR CULTURAL FREEDOM, NYC, WHICH HAS GONE OUT OF BUSINESS.
HE STATED THAT PROFESSOR SIDNEY HOOK WAS HIS SUPERVISOR.
HE STATED THAT FROM APPROXIMATELY NINETEEN THIRTY NINE TO
NINETEEN FORTY HE WAS A MEMBER OF THE YOUNG PEOPLES SOCIALIST
LEAGUE, FOURTH INTERNATIONAL, A TROTSKYITE GROUP, NOT TO BE
CONFUSED WITH THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL WHICH WAS CONSIDERED
A VERY RADICAL GROUP.

ON NOVEMBER THIRTEEN INSTANT, [REDACTED] SECRETARY
TO APPOINTEE ADVISED THAT NATIONAL AFFAIRS, INCORPORATED, IS
THE PUBLISHER OF "THE PUBLIC INTEREST" AND "FOREIGN
AFFAIRS" AND THAT APPOINTEE IS PRESIDENT OF THE CORPORATION.
END PAGE ONE

MR. MARTIN
ROOM 1246

Yokel

[Signature]

161-9155-28
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NOV 28 1972

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PAGE TWO

ASSOCIATES

① ON NOVEMBER THIRTEEN, INSTANT, MARTIN KESSLER, EDITORIAL DIRECTOR, BASIC BOOKS, INC., NYC, ADVISED HAS KNOWN APPOINTEE SINCE NINETEEN SIXTY SEVEN, STATED APPOINTEE IS ONE OF THE LEADING SCHOLARS IN URBAN PROBLEMS AND THAT HE IS A POLITICAL PHILOSOPHER ON URBAN PROBLEMS AND EDUCATION. STATED CHARACTER, LOYALTY, MORALS, REPUTATION AND ASSOCIATES BEYOND REPROACH. WOULD RECOMMEND FOR POSITION AND TRUST AND CONFIDENCE.

② ON NOVEMBER THIRTEEN, INSTANT, [REDACTED] [REDACTED] NYC, ADVISED HAS KNOWN APPOINTEE APPROXIMATELY TWENTY YEARS AND THAT THEY WORKED TOGETHER ON "ENCOUNTER" IN LONDON FOR SEVERAL YEARS. STATED APPOINTEE IS A CONSERVATIVE. HE IS CONSCIENTIOUS, INTELLIGENT, DISCREET PERSON AND THAT NOTHING HAS EVER COME TO HIS ATTENTION WHICH WOULD REFLECT UNFAVORABLY IN ANYWAY UPON THE APPOINTEE. RECOMMENDED HIM VERY HIGHLY FOR POSITION OF TRUST AND CONFIDENCE WITH THE GOVERNMENT.

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b7C

③ ON NOVEMBER THIRTEEN, INSTANT, WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY, EDITOR, NATIONAL REVIEW, NYC, ADVISED HAS KNOWN APPOINTEE FOR MANY YEARS. STATED APPOINTEE IS A CONSERVATIVE. IS A CONSCIENTIOUS,
END PAGE TWO

PAGE THREE

INTELLIGENT, DISCREET, COUTEOUS INDIVIDUAL. STATED NOTHING HAS EVER COME TO HIS ATTENTION WHICH WOULD REFLECT UNFAVORABLY UPON THE CHARACTER, LOYALTY, REPUTATION, MORALS AND ASSOCIATES OF THE APPOINTEE. STATED WOULD RECOMMEND APPOINTEE VERY HIGHLY FOR POSITION OF TRUST AND CONFIDENCE WITH THE GOVERNMENT. STATED APPOINTEE WAS MANAGING EDITOR OF "THE REPORTER" FOR ABOUT A YEAR IN NINETEEN FIFTY NINE OR SIXTY AND THAT THIS MAGAZINE WENT OUT OF BUSINESS. HE STATED THAT IT WAS A LIBERAL ANTI-COMMUNIST PUBLICATION.

ON NOVEMBER THIRTEEN, INSTANT, PROFESSOR SIDNEY HOOK, NEW YORK UNIVERSITY, ADVISED THAT THE APPOINTEE WAS EMPLOYED AS THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY OF THE AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR CULTURAL FREEDOM IN NYC FROM JULY FIFTY TWO TO FEBRUARY FIFTY THREE. HE STATED THAT IT WENT OUT OF EXISTENCE APPROXIMATELY TEN YEARS AGO AND THAT THE RECORDS ARE NO LONGER AVAILABLE. HE STATED THAT HE WAS THE APPOINTEES SUPERVISOR.

INVESTIGATION CONTINUING.

END

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

NOV 13 1972

TELETYPE

NR 008 BS PLAIN

5:10 PM NITEL 11-13-72 DAB

TO: ACTING DIRECTOR

FROM: BOSTON (161-3223) RUC

IRVING KRISTOL; SPIN

RE BUREAU PHONE CALL ON INSTANT DATE.

EMPLOYMENT:

ON INSTANT DATE, PROFESSOR NATHAN GLAZER,
HARVARD COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE, MASS., ADVISED THAT
FROM SEPT., FORTYSIX TO SEPT., FORTYSEVEN,
APPOINTEE WAS WITH HIS WIFE WHO WAS STUDYING IN
ENGLAND ON A SCHOLARSHIP FROM THE UNIV. OF CHICAGO
FOR HER DOCTORAL THESIS. DURING THIS TIME,
APPOINTEE WORKED THERE AS A CORRESPONDENT FOR
"THE NEW LEADER".

HE FURTHER STATED THAT FROM AUGUST, FIFTYTWO
THROUGH JAN., FIFTYTHREE, THE APPOINTEE WAS THE
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR IN NEW YORK CITY OF THE AMERICAN
COMMITTEE FOR CULTURAL FREEDOM. ON THE SAME DATE,
END PAGE ONE

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| Mr. Felt | _____ |
| Mr. Baker | _____ |
| Mr. Bishop | _____ |
| Mr. Callahan | _____ |
| Mr. Cleveland | _____ |
| Mr. Conrad | _____ |
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| Mr. Gohhardt | _____ |
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| Mr. Marshall | _____ |
| Mr. Miller, E.S. | _____ |
| Mr. Purvis | _____ |
| Mr. Soyars | _____ |
| Mr. Walters | _____ |
| Tele. Room | _____ |
| Mr. Kinley | _____ |
| Mr. Armstrong | _____ |
| Ms. Herwig | _____ |
| Mrs. Neenan | _____ |

MR. MARTIN
ROOM 1246

NOT RECORDED

NOV 28 1972

63 DEC 18 1972

BS (161-3223)

PAGE TWO

PROFESSOR GLAZER VERIFIED THE FACT THAT FROM JUNE, SIXTYTWO THROUGH JUNE, SIXTYSIX, APPOINTEE WAS EMPLOYED AS A CULTURAL CORRESPONDENT IN NEW YORK CITY FOR "THE LONDON OBSERVER". HE STATED THIS WAS ON A PART-TIME BASIS SINCE THE APPOINTEE WAS ALSO AT THIS TIME EDITOR AND CHIEF OF BASIC BOOKS, INC. IN NEW YORK CITY.

MISCELLANEOUS:

ON INSTANT DATE, PROFESSOR DANIEL BELL, HARVARD UNIV., ADVISED HE AND THE APPOINTEE WERE BOTH MEMBERS OF THE YOUNG PEOPLES SOCIALIST LEAGUE WHILE STUDENTS AT CITY COLLEGE OF NEW YORK (CCNY). HE STATED THE GROUP SUPPORTED THE PRINCIPLES OF NORMAN THOMAS, FORMER CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT, AND WERE AFFILIATED WITH THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF WHICH HE WAS THE HEAD.

PROFESSOR BELL STATED THE GROUP AIMED AT OBTAINING BETTER SOCIAL CONDITIONS FOR THE PEOPLE AND LIVINGS CONDITIONS FOR THE ELDERLY. HE STATED THAT THE ACTIVITIES OF THE GROUPS WERE CONFINED TO

END PAGE TWO

BS (161-3223)

PAGE THREE

MEETINGS WHERE DEBATES AND DISCUSSIONS TOOK PLACE. HE ADVISED THAT WRITINGS BY THE GROUP MEMBERS ALL WERE AIMED AT BETTERING LIVING CONDITIONS AND BETTERING THE PEOPLE. HE STATED THERE WAS NO VIOLENCE OR OTHER RADICAL ACTIONS BY THE GROUPS. HE FURTHER STATED THAT AFTER WORLD WAR TWO THE APPOINTEE WAS CONSERVATIVE IN HIS THOUGHTS AND WRITING.

ON INSTANT DATE, PROFESSOR NATHAN GLAZER, HARVARD UNIV., STATED HE DID NOT KNOW THE EXACT NAME OF THE GROUP THE APPOINTEE JOINED WHILE BOTH WERE STUDENTS AT CCNY. BECAUSE OF THE LAPSE OF TIME AND BECAUSE OF THE LARGE NUMBER OF LIBERAL STUDENT GROUPS THERE AT THAT TIME, HE COULD NOT NOW RECALL IF IT WAS AFFILIATED WITH ANY LARGER ORGANIZATIONS.

HE RECALLED THAT THE GROUP AIMED AT BETTERING LIVING CONDITIONS FOR THE PEOPLE AS A WHOLE. HE STATED THERE WAS NO BOMBING VIOLENCE OR OTHER RADICAL ACTIONS. HE STATED THE ACTIVITY OF THE GROUP MEMBERS WAS FOR THE MOST PART ACADEMIC AND

END PAGE THREE

BS (161-3223)

PAGE FOUR

INCLUDED MEETINGS WHERE DISCUSSIONS TOOK PLACE AND
WRITINGS WERE DISCUSSED ON SOCIAL CONDITIONS.

PROFESSOR GLAZER STATED THAT AFTER THE APPOINTEE'S
MILITARY SERVICE IN WORLD WAR TWO, HE HAS BEEN
CONSERVATIVE IN HIS THINKINGS AND WRITINGS..

END

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

NOV 14 1972

TELETYPE

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| Mr. Felt | _____ |
| Mr. Baker | _____ |
| Mr. Bishop | _____ |
| Mr. Callahan | _____ |
| Mr. Cleveland | _____ |
| Mr. Conrad | _____ |
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| Mr. Armstrong | _____ |
| Ms. Herwig | _____ |
| Mrs. Neenan | _____ |

NR 008 SF PLAIN

10:52PM NITEL 11/13/72 BEH

TO: ACTING DIRECTOR

BOSTON (161-3223)

FROM: SAN FRANCISCO (161-2071) (RUC) 4 PAGES

IRVING KRISTOL, SPI, BUDED NOVEMBER TEN LAST.

MR. MARTIN
ROOM 1246

RE BOSTON NITEL TO BUREAU, NOVEMBER NINE LAST.

REFERENCE SEYMOUR MARTIN LIPSET, PROFESSOR OF GOVERNMENT AND SOCIAL RELATIONS, HARVARD UNIVERSITY, IS PRESENTLY AT THE CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCES AT STANFORD UNIVERSITY, STANFORD, CALIFORNIA. DOCTOR LIPSET ADVISED THIS DATE THAT HE HAS KNOWN APPOINTEE SINCE APPROXIMATELY NINETEEN FORTY, AT WHICH TIME HE AND APPOINTEE WERE BOTH STUDENTS AT CITY COLLEGE OF NEW YORK. HE AND APPOINTEE BOTH WERE TROTSKYISTS AND MEMBERS OF THE YOUTH SECTION OF THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY (SWP) WHICH HE SAID WAS KNOWN AS THE YOUNG PEOPLES SOCIALIST LEAGUE (YPSL). LIPSET SAID HE AND APPOINTEE BOTH ATTENDED MEETINGS OF THE YPSL DURING NINETEEN FORTY TO FORTY-ONE, BUT DROPPED OUT BECAUSE OF THEIR DISAGREEMENT WITH THE SWP SUPPORT OF THE SOVIET UNION'S WAR WITH FINLAND.

END OF PAGE ONE 8:18 PM 11/13/72

161-1153-30
NOT RECORDED
NOV 28 1972

· PAGE TWO

SF 161-2071

LIPSET STATED HE AND APPOINTEE DID NOT OCCUPY ANY POSITIONS OF LEADERSHIP WITH THE YPSL AND HAVE HAD NO AFFILIATION WITH ANY SUCH ORGANIZATIONS SINCE THAT DATE.

LIPSET NOTED THAT APPOINTEE HAS MOVED TO A VERY CONSERVATIVE POSITION THROUGH THE YEARS AND IS NOW WELL KNOWN AS A VERY CONSERVATIVE INDIVIDUAL. HE HAS CONTACT WITH THE APPOINTEE ABOUT FOUR TIMES EACH YEAR BECAUSE HE WRITES FOR "BASIC BOOKS" AND HAS BUSINESS DEALINGS WITH APPOINTEE. HE STATED THAT THERE IS NOTHING UNFAVORABLE AS FAR AS APPOINTEE AND HIS FAMILY ARE CONCERNED AND HE CONSIDERS APPOINTEE AS A LOYAL CITIZEN AND A DISCREET AND TRUSTWORTHY INDIVIDUAL. HE BELIEVES APPOINTEE'S ASSOCIATES AT THE PRESENT TIME ARE BEYOND REPROACH, AND WOULD RECOMMEND HIM MOST HIGHLY FOR A POSITION OF TRUST AND CONFIDENCE WITH THE GOVERNMENT.

IN JULY, NINETEEN SIXTY, LIPSET SPOKE BEFORE AN OPEN FORUM AT BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA, AT WHICH HE STATED THAT HE WAS VERY ACTIVE IN THE PROGRESSIVE STUDENT MOVEMENT WHILE IN COLLEGE IN NEW YORK, AND HAD BEEN VERY ACTIVE IN THE AMERICAN STUDENT UNION (ASU).

END OF PAGE TWO

PAGE THREE

SF 161-2071

IN MARCH, NINETEEN SIXTY-FIVE, LIPSET WAS INTERVIEWED BY THE OFFICE OF SPECIAL INVESTIGATIONS (OSI), UNITED STATES AIR FORCE, SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA, AND STATED HE HAD BELONGED TO THE YPSL DURING EARLY NINETEEN FORTY, AND DROPPED OUT AFTER BEING IN LESS THAN A YEAR. HE ATTENDED YPSL MEETINGS WHILE IT WAS IN THE TROTSKY STAGE, AND THE SWP, BUT DID NOT HOLD OFFICE IN EITHER GROUP. HE SAID HE HAD BELONGED TO THE ASU IN NINETEEN THIRTY-SEVEN TO THIRTY-NINE, AND WAS A DELEGATE TO ONE OF THEIR CONVENTIONS IN NINETEEN THIRTY-EIGHT OR THIRTY-NINE, WHILE HE WAS IN HIGH SCHOOL. HE DROPPED OUT OR ASU ABOUT JANUARY, NINETEEN THIRTY-NINE. HE ALSO STATED THAT HE HAD BELONGED TO THE AMERICAN YOUTH CONGRESS (AYC), WHICH HE SAID WAS A VERY AMORPHOUS COMMUNIST AFFILIATE.

LIPSET FURNISHED OSI THE NAMES OF PERSONS WHOM HE BELIEVED TO BE OR TO HAVE BEEN MEMBERS OF ONE OR MORE OF THE ORGANIZATIONS CITED BY THE ATTORNEY GENERAL, BUT WAS NOT ABLE TO IDENTIFY WHO BELONGED TO WHICH ORGANIZATION. AMONG THE PERSONS HE NAMED WAS IRVING KRISTOL, EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT, BASIC BOOKS, INCORPORATED, FOUR ZERO FOUR PARK AVENUE SOUTH,

END OF PAGE THREE

PAGE FOUR

SF 161-2071

NEW YORK, NEW YORK.

THE SWP AND AYC HAVE BEEN DESIGNATED PURSUANT TO
EXECUTIVE ORDER ONE ZERO FOUR FIVE ZERO.

THE ASU HAS BEEN CITED AS A COMMUNIST ORGANIZATION BY THE
HOUSE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES COMMITTEE.

END

HOLD

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

NOV 14 1972

TELETYPE

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| Mr. Felt | _____ |
| Mr. Baker | _____ |
| Mr. Bishop | _____ |
| Mr. Callahan | _____ |
| Mr. Cleveland | _____ |
| Mr. Conrad | _____ |
| Mr. Dalbey | _____ |
| Mr. Gebhardt | _____ |
| Mr. Jenkins | _____ |
| Mr. Marshall | _____ |
| Mr. Miller, E.S. | _____ |
| Mr. Purvis | _____ |
| Mr. Soyars | _____ |
| Mr. Walters | _____ |
| Tele. Room | _____ |
| Mr. Kinley | _____ |
| Mr. Armstrong | _____ |
| Ms. Herwig | _____ |
| Mrs. Neenan | _____ |

NR007 NY PLAIN

750PM NITEL 11-14-72 JAH

TO ACTING DIRECTOR

FROM NEW YORK 161-4254 1P

IRVING WILLIAM KRISTOL, AKA, SPI, BUDED NOVEMBER TEN, LAST

RE NEW YORK TEL, NOVEMBER THIRTEEN, LAST.

ON NOVEMBER THIRTEEN, LAST, DOCTOR [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH COUNCIL, NEW YORK, NEW YORK, ADVISED HAS KNOWN APPOINTEE ON A PROFESSIONAL BASIS SINCE SIXTYEIGHT, WHEN SHE AND APPOINTEE WERE RESEARCH ASSISTANTS AT RUSSELL SAGE FOUNDATION, NYC. ADVISED APPOINTEE IS CONSCIENTIOUS, DISCREET, COURTEOUS INDIVIDUAL. NOTHING UNFAVORABLE KNOWN CONCERNING CHARACTER, LOYALTY, MORALS, REPUTATION, AND ASSOCIATES. WOULD RECOMMEND HIGHLY FOR POSITION OF TRUST AND CONFIDENCE.

INVESTIGATION CONTINUING. P.

END

MR. MARTIN
ROOM 1246

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161-7155-31

NOT RECORDED

NOV 28 1972

58 DEC 18 1972

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

NR004 NY PLAIN

1030AM NITEL 11-14-72 PAC

NOV 14 1972

TO ACTING DIRECTOR

TELETYPE

FROM NEW YORK 161-4254 3P

MR. MARTIN
ROOM 1246

| | |
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| Mr. Felt | _____ |
| Mr. Baker | _____ |
| Mr. Bishop | _____ |
| Mr. Callahan | _____ |
| Mr. Cleveland | _____ |
| Mr. Conrad | _____ |
| Mr. Dalbey | _____ |
| Mr. Gelhardt | _____ |
| Mr. Jenkins | _____ |
| Mr. Marshall | _____ |
| Mr. Miller, E.S. | _____ |
| Mr. Purvis | _____ |
| Mr. Soyars | _____ |
| Mr. Walters | _____ |
| Tele. Room | _____ |
| Mr. Kinley | _____ |
| Mr. Armstrong | _____ |
| Ms. Herwig | _____ |
| Mrs. Neenan | _____ |

IRVING WILLIAM KRISTOL, AKA, SPECIAL INQUIRY, BUDED ELEVEN
TEN LAST.

RE NEW YORK TELETYPE AND BOSTON TELETYPE ELEVEN TEN LAST.
EDUCATION

A CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE ADVISED IRVING WILLIAM KRISTOL,
BORN ONE TWENTYTWO TWENTY, ATTENDED CITY COLLEGE OF THE
CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK FROM SEPTEMBER NINETEEN THIRTYSIX
UNTIL JUNE NINETEEN FORTY AND RECEIVED A BACHELOR OF SCIENCE
DEGREE IN SOCIAL SCIENCES JUNE NINETEEN, NINETEEN FORTY. HE
GRADUATED CUM LAUDE AND RECEIVED SPECIAL GRADUATION HONORS
IN SOCIAL SCIENCE.

THE CITY COLLEGE OF THE CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK
REQUIRES WRITTEN PERMISSION OF STUDENT FOR SPECIFIC INFORMATION
RE COURSES, GRADES, NAMES OF INSTRUCTORS AND INSPECTION OF
RECORDS.

END PAGE ONE

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NOV 28 1972

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58 DEC 18 1972

PAGE TWO

ASSOCIATES

(7) ON NOVEMBER TEN, INSTANT, ERNEST VAN DEN HAAG, AUTHOR, ONE ONE EIGHT WEST SEVENTY NINTH STREET, NY, NY, ADVISED HE HAS KNOWN APPOINTEE ABOUT TEN YEARS, BOTH SOCIALLY AND ON A PROFESSIONAL BASIS. HE STATED HE BELIEVES APPOINTEE TO BE AN ABLE EDITOR AND THOROUGHLY COMPETENT IN HIS FIELD. HE ADVISED IN HIS OPINION THE PUBLICATION, THE PUBLIC INTEREST, IS ONE OF THE BEST EDITED PUBLICATIONS IN THE COUNTRY AND HE CREDITS APPOINTEE IN LARGE PART FOR THIS SITUATION. HE DESCRIBED APPOINTEE AS BRILLIANT, HONEST, TRUSTWORTHY; A MAN OF EXCELLENT CHARACTER, ASSOCIATES, REPUTATION, AND LOYALTY, WHOSE PERSONAL STANDARDS ARE ABOVE REPROACH. HE STATED APPOINTEE ENJOYS AN HARMONIOUS MARRIAGE TO A BRILLIANT HISTORIAN AND HE RECOMMENDED APPOINTEE FOR GOVERNMENT EMPLOYMENT AT THE HIGHEST LEVEL AS A MAN OF GREAT WORTH AND POTENTIAL.

(2) ON NOVEMBER TENTH, SEVENTY TWO, [REDACTED] ATTORNEY AT LAW, [REDACTED] NEW YORK, NEW YORK, STATED THAT HE HAS BEEN ACQUAINTED WITH APPOINTEE SOCIALLY FOR THE PAST TWO YEARS, BEGINNING WHEN THEY FIRST MET AT A DINNER GROUP GATHERING. HE HAS KNOWN OF APPOINTEE'S

END PAGE TWO

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PAGE THREE

PROFESSIONAL REPUTATION FOR MANY YEARS PRIOR TO PERSONALLY MEETING HIM. HE CHARACTERIZED APPOINTEE AS A MAN OF IMPECCABLE CHARACTER AND UNQUESTIONED LOYALTY TO THE UNITED STATES. HE HAS ALSO OBSERVED APPOINTEE TO BE A CLEAR, AGGRESSIVE THINKER AND CAPABLE ORGANIZER AND PLANNER.

HE KNOWS APPOINTEE TO ENJOY AN OUTSTANDING REPUTATION IN HIS PROFESSIONAL FIELD AND BASED ON HIS PERSONAL KNOWLEDGE OF APPOINTEE, [REDACTED] FEELS THAT APPOINTEE CAN BE FAVORABLY RECOMMENDED TO BE CONSIDERED FOR APPOINTMENT TO POSITION OF TRUST AND SENSITIVITY WITH THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT.

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INVESTIGATION CONTINUING. P.

END

PLS ACK FOR TWO

LXS FBI WASH DC RECD NR003 AND NR004 CLR

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| Mr. Felt | _____ |
| Mr. Baker | _____ |
| Mr. Bishop | _____ |
| Mr. Callahan | _____ |
| Mr. Cleveland | _____ |
| Mr. Conrad | _____ |
| Mr. Dalbey | _____ |
| Mr. Gebhardt | _____ |
| Mr. Jenkins | _____ |
| Mr. Marshall | _____ |
| Mr. Miller, E.S. | _____ |
| Mr. Purvis | _____ |
| Mr. Soyars | _____ |
| Mr. Walters | _____ |
| Tele. Room | _____ |
| Mr. Kinley | _____ |
| Mr. Armstrong | _____ |
| Ms. Herwig | _____ |
| Mrs. Neenan | _____ |

NR 028 NY PLAIN
1050PM NITEL 11-15-72 KPR
TO ACTING DIRECTOR
FROM NEW YORK (161-4254) 2P

IRVING WILLIAM KRISTOL, AKA, SPECIAL INQUIRY. BUDED:
NOVEMBER TEN LAST.

RENYTEL NOVEMBER FOURTEEN LAST.

EMPLOYMENT AT NEW YORK UNIVERSITY VERIFIED.

SUPERVISOR, FACULTY PERSONNEL RECORDS, WASHINGTON
SQUARE, NYC, ADVISED KRISTOL APPOINTED FULL TIME PROFESSOR IN
URBAN AFFAIRS ON SEPTEMBER ONE SIXTY NINE AND CONTINUES
IN SAID POSITION. STATED IS HENRY R. LUCE PROFESSOR IN URBAN
VALUES. STATED NO UNFAVORABLE INFORMATION CONTAINED IN FILE.
ADVISED ONLY PEOPLE WHO COULD COMMENT WOULD BE DEAN RICHARD
NETZER, GRADUATE SCHOOL OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION AND DEAN
GEORGE W. STONE, JR., GRADUATE SCHOOL OF ARTS AND SCIENCES.

ON NOVEMBER FOURTEEN LAST DEAN RICHARD NETZER ADVISED
HAS KNOWN OF APPOINTEE FOR MANY YEARS STATED KRISTOL IS
CONSIDERED AN EXCELLENT TEACHER AND THAT HE IS ONE OF THE
FOREMOST AUTHORITIES ON URBAN AFFAIRS. DESCRIBED KRISTOL
AS AN INTELLECTUAL AND A PERSON WHOSE CHARACTER, LOYALTY,
MORALS, REPUTATION AND ASSOCIATES ARE BEYOND QUESTION.
WOULD RECOMMEND FOR POSITION OF TRUST AND CONFIDENCE.

END PAGE ONE

DEC 18 1972 / 476

MR. MARTIN
ROOM 1246

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NOT RECORDED
NOV 28 1972

PAGE TWO

(2) ON NOVEMBER FIFTEEN, SEVENTY TWO, [REDACTED]

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ADVISED THAT HE ASKED PROFESSOR KRISTOL TO ACCEPT THE POSITION OF PROFESSOR. HE STATED PROFESSOR KRISTOL IS A VERY INTELLIGENT CONSCIENTIOUS, DISCREET GENTLEMAN. KNOWS NOTHING WHICH WOULD REFLECT UNFAVORABLY UPON HIM. WOULD RECOMMEND FOR POSITION OF TRUST AND CONFIDENCE.

NY IS CONTINUING EFFORTS TO VERIFY APPOINTEE'S FORMER EMPLOYMENT WITH LONDON OBSERVER.

P.

END

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

NOV 16 1972

TELETYPE

NR 008 NY PLAIN

506PM NITEL 11-16-72 KPR

TO ACTING DIRECTOR

FROM NEW YORK (161-4254) (RUC) 1P

IRVING WILLIAM KRISTOL, AKA SPECIAL INQUIRY. BUDED: NOVEMBER
TEN LAST.

RENYTEL NOVEMBER FIFTEEN LAST.

SEVERAL TELEPHONE CALLS WERE MADE TO THE LONDON OBSERVER
OFFICE LOCATED IN THE UNITED NATIONS SECRETARIATE, WITH NEGATIVE
RESULTS. A CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE FAMILIAR WITH CORRESPONDENTS
ACCREDITED TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADVISED THAT NO RECORD
COULD BE LOCATED FOR APPOINTEE. RUC.

END

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LRS FBIHQ5 ACKF OR SEVEN PLS O HOLD

| | |
|------------------|-------|
| Mr. Felt | _____ |
| Mr. Baker | _____ |
| Mr. Bishop | _____ |
| Mr. Callahan | _____ |
| Mr. Cleveland | _____ |
| Mr. Conrad | _____ |
| Mr. Dalbey | _____ |
| Mr. Galt | _____ |
| Mr. Jenkins | _____ |
| Mr. Marshall | _____ |
| Mr. Miller, E.S. | _____ |
| Mr. Parris | _____ |
| Mr. Soyars | _____ |
| Mr. Walters | _____ |
| Tele. Room | _____ |
| Mr. Kinley | _____ |
| Mr. Armstrong | _____ |
| Ms. Herwig | _____ |
| Mrs. Neenan | _____ |

MR. MARTIN
ROOM 1246

161-9153-34
NOV 22 1972

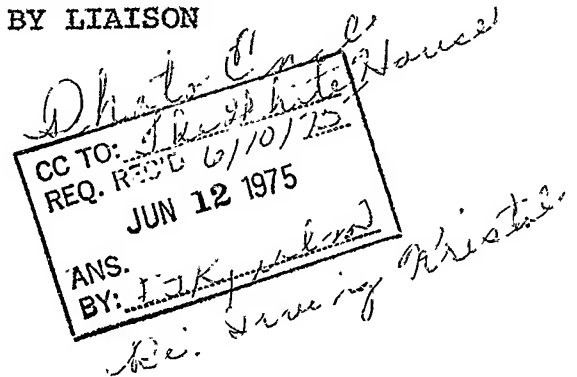
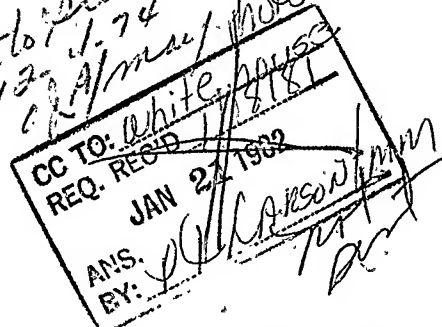
58 DEC 4 9 1972
F470

9-RA

1 - Miss Smith
1 - Mr. Cleveland
1 - Mr. Martin
1 - Mr. Ritzer

November 17, 1972

BY LIAISON



Honorable Alexander P. Butterfield
Deputy Assistant to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Butterfield:

Transmitted herewith is a summary memorandum containing the results of investigation concerning Mr. Irving Kristol in accordance with your request received on November 3, 1972.

Information has been received indicating checks of the files of the Internal Revenue Service and the Passport Office, Department of State, have not been completed. When these checks have been completed, you will be advised.

Sincerely yours,

ST-113

REC-64

L. Patrick Gray, III
Acting Director
DELIVERED BY LIAISON
ON 11/22/72

36
NOT RECORDED
22 DEC 1 1972

Enclosures (2)

NOTE: Mr. Kristol being considered for presidential appointment, position not indicated. Investigation disclosed Mr. Kristol, while in college during the late 1930's, was a member of the Young People's Socialist League, which was affiliated with the Socialist Party. Mr. Kristol now considered to be conservative in his views. In 1960 Mr. Kristol wrote a letter to "The New York Times" calling for clemency in the cases of Harry Gold and Morton Sobell, who were serving sentences of 30 years' imprisonment for espionage. Investigation otherwise favorable and complete, except for checks of files of two governmental agencies.

ENCLOSURE
RER:ysb

SEE REVERSE SIDE FOR
ADD. DISSEMINATION.

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐ RETURN TO MR. RITZER, ROOM 1254.

Felt _____
Baker _____
Bishop _____
Callahan _____
Cleveland _____
Conrad _____
Dalbey _____
Gebhardt _____
Jenkins _____
Marshall _____
Miller, E.S. _____
Purvis _____
Soyars _____
Walters _____
Tele. Room _____
Mr. Kinley _____
Mr. Armstrong _____
Ms. Herwig _____
Mrs. Neenan _____

*1 copy to State
12-4-74
O'Donoghue*

November 17, 1972

IRVING KRISTOL

THE INVESTIGATION OF MR. KRISTOL COVERED INQUIRIES IN THE CONTINENTAL UNITED STATES AS TO HIS CHARACTER, LOYALTY, ABILITY, AND GENERAL STANDING, BUT NO INQUIRIES WERE MADE AS TO THE SOURCES OF HIS INCOME.

I. BIOGRAPHICAL DATA

250 Riverside Dr. N.Y.C. 10001

Birth

Mr. Kristol was born on January 22, 1920, in New York, New York, as Irving William Kristol.

Education

Mr. Kristol attended City College, The City University of New York, New York, from September, 1936, to June, 1940, receiving a B.A. degree.

Employment

July, 1940;
February, 1944,
to September,
1944; and
September, 1946,
to July, 1947

Unemployed in Chicago, Illinois;
New York, New York; and London,
England

August, 1940, to
January, 1944

Department of the Navy, Brooklyn,
New York, as an apprentice
machinist

August, 1947, to
July, 1952

American Jewish Committee,
New York, New York, as managing
editor of the magazine,
"Commentary"

RER:ysb

*ysb
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ENCLOSURE

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐ RETURN TO MR. RITZER, ROOM 1254.

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- Baker _____
- Bishop _____
- Callahan _____
- Cleveland _____
- Conrad _____
- Dalbey _____
- Gebhardt _____
- Jenkins _____
- Marshall _____
- Miller, E.S. _____
- Purvis _____
- Soyars _____
- Walters _____
- Tele. Room _____
- Mr. Kinley _____
- Mr. Armstrong _____
- Ms. Herwig _____
- Mrs. Neenan _____

Irving Kristol

August, 1952, to
January, 1953

American Committee for
Cultural Freedom, New York,
New York, as executive director.
This organization is no longer
in existence; however, Mr. Kristol's
employment was verified by persons
interviewed.

February, 1953, to
November, 1958

Encounter, Limited, London, England,
as editor of the magazine,
"Encounter"

August, 1958, to
February, 1960

Reporter Magazine Company, New York,
New York, as editor of the
magazine, "The Reporter." This
firm is no longer in existence;
however, Mr. Kristol's employment
was verified by persons interviewed.

March, 1960, to
July, 1969

Basic Books, Incorporated, New York,
New York, as executive vice president
and senior editor

1962 to 1966

New York, New York, part-time
cultural correspondent for the
British publication, "London
Observer"

1964 to the present

National Affairs, Incorporated,
New York, New York, as president.
Mr. Kristol is also cofounder
and coeditor of its publication,
"The Public Interest," which deals
with social and urban problems.

September, 1969, to
the present

New York University, New York,
New York, as a professor

Mr. Kristol currently serves as a member of the
National Council on the Humanities, National Foundation on
the Arts and Humanities, Washington, D. C., his term expiring
on January 26, 1978.

Irving Kristol

On May 25, 1972, Mr. Kristol received an excepted appointment not to exceed December 31, 1972, as a consultant, on a when-actually-employed basis from the Office of Research and Assessment, United States Information Agency, Washington, D. C. This appointment was given to Mr. Kristol to enable him to serve as a public member of a foreign service inspection team of that agency traveling to Yugoslavia in June, 1972.

Marital Status

Mr. Kristol is married to the former [redacted] They and one of their children, [redacted] reside at 920 Riverside Drive, New York, New York.

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Military Service

Mr. Kristol was inducted into the United States Army on October 16, 1944, and entered on active duty the same date. He was honorably discharged on August 10, 1946, as a staff sergeant. His service record is clear.

II. RESULTS OF INVESTIGATION

Interviews

[redacted] Administrative Assistant to James L. Buckley, United States Senator from New York, advised in Washington, D. C., that Senator Buckley is unavailable for interview. He stated he is authorized to advise Mr. Kristol is known to Senator Buckley and Senator Buckley interposes no objection to Mr. Kristol's appointment to a position of trust and confidence.

[redacted] secretary, Office of Jacob K. Javits, United States Senator from New York, advised in Washington, D. C., that Senator Javits is unavailable for interview. She stated she is authorized to advise Senator Javits has known Mr. Kristol for many years and considers him to be a friend. She said Senator Javits thinks highly of Mr. Kristol and recommends him for a position of trust and confidence.

Irving Kristol

[redacted] Administrative Assistant to
Hubert H. Humphrey, United States Senator from Minnesota,
advised in Washington, D. C., that Senator Humphrey is
unavailable for interview. He stated he is authorized to
advise Senator Humphrey has known Mr. Kristol for over twenty
years and considers him to be a capable, dependable, and
trustworthy individual. He said Senator Humphrey recommends
Mr. Kristol for a position of trust and confidence.

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Dr. Daniel Bell, professor, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, advised he has known Mr. Kristol for over thirty years. He said he and Mr. Kristol are cofounders and coeditors of the publication, "The Public Interest," which publication deals with urban and social problems. He described Mr. Kristol as an intelligent and competent individual who is highly regarded as an editor and writer. Dr. Bell stated that while attending college both he and Mr. Kristol were members of the Young People's Socialist League, which organization was affiliated with the Socialist Party. He said the aims of this group were directed toward the betterment of social conditions for the people as a whole and the betterment of living conditions for the elderly. He advised the activities of the group were confined to debates and discussions concerning these topics. Dr. Bell stated Mr. Kristol's views have changed since World War II and he, Mr. Kristol, is considered to be conservative in his thinking and his writing. He said Mr. Kristol is a loyal American citizen whose character, reputation, and associates are above reproach, and he recommended him without qualification for a position of trust and confidence with the United States Government.

The October, 1937, issue of "Challenge of Youth," a monthly magazine of the Young People's Socialist League, contains an article entitled, "Twenty-five Years in the History of the Young People's Socialist League." In this article, the Young People's Socialist League is described as a young people's group organized on a local scale by members of the Socialist Party to attract young people to the socialist movement.

Irving Kristol

Dr. Seymour Martin Lipset, professor, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, advised he has known Mr. Kristol since the late 1930's. He said that while attending college he and Mr. Kristol were members of the Young People's Socialist League; however, Mr. Kristol's views have changed during the intervening years to the point where he, Mr. Kristol, is considered to be a very conservative individual. He stated he considers Mr. Kristol to be a loyal American citizen who is discreet and trustworthy. He said Mr. Kristol's character, reputation, and associates are above reproach, and he highly recommended him for a position of trust and confidence with the United States Government.

Dr. Nathan Glazer, professor, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, advised he has known Mr. Kristol since the 1930's. He described him as an outstanding author, teacher, and publisher. Dr. Glazer stated that while attending college Mr. Kristol joined a socialist-oriented organization, the name of which he could not recall. He said the aims of this group were directed toward the betterment of living conditions for the people as a whole. He advised the activities of this group were for the most part academic and included discussions pertaining to writings relating to social conditions. He stated that since his military service during World War II, Mr. Kristol has changed his views and is now considered to be conservative in his thinking as well as in his writing. He stated he considers Mr. Kristol to be a loyal American citizen whose character, reputation, and associates are above reproach, and he recommended him without qualification for a position of trust and confidence with the United States Government.

Daniel Seligman, senior staff editor of all Time, Incorporated, publications, New York, New York, advised he has known Mr. Kristol for approximately twenty-five years. He stated Mr. Kristol has worked as an editor for various publications over the years in New York and in London, England. He advised Mr. Kristol enjoys an excellent reputation as an editor and a great deal of his, Mr. Kristol's, writings are within the area of political science. He stated that within this area Mr. Kristol has the reputation of being conservative in his views. He stated he knows of nothing adverse concerning Mr. Kristol's character, loyalty, reputation, or associates, and he recommended him for a position of trust and confidence with the United States Government.

Irving Kristol

Abraham H. Raskin, assistant editor, "The New York Times," a daily New York City newspaper, advised he has known Mr. Kristol for over fifteen years. He said he considers him to be a brilliant individual. He stated Mr. Kristol is thoughtful, presents a fresh point of view, and has the ability to analyze difficult problems. He advised Mr. Kristol is personable, gets along with others, and expresses himself very well. He stated Mr. Kristol is a loyal American citizen whose character, reputation, and associates are above reproach, and he recommended him without reservation for a position of trust and confidence with the United States Government.

Dr. Edward C. Banfield, professor, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, advised he has known Mr. Kristol for many years. He described him as a "truly great man" who is extremely creative and full of well-thought-out ideas. He said Mr. Kristol is a man of extraordinary talent in that he is an extremely persuasive writer who has many "irons in the fire" at the same time and handles them with apparent ease. He advised as a youth Mr. Kristol was somewhat radical in his thinking in that he was Socialist-oriented. He stated Mr. Kristol has outgrown this attitude and now looks back and laughs at his youthful exuberance. Dr. Banfield advised he knows of nothing adverse concerning Mr. Kristol's character, loyalty, reputation, or associates, and he recommended him for a position of trust and confidence with the United States Government.

William F. Buckley, Jr., editor, "National Review," New York, New York, advised he has known Mr. Kristol for many years. He described him as an intelligent, conscientious, courteous, and discreet individual who is conservative in his thinking. He said Mr. Kristol at one time was the managing editor of the now defunct magazine, "The Reporter," which he described as a liberal anticommunist publication. Mr. Buckley stated he knows of nothing derogatory concerning Mr. Kristol's character, loyalty, reputation, or associates, and he highly recommended him for a position of trust and confidence with the United States Government.

Forty-seven additional persons, consisting of references, professional associates, acquaintances, and neighbors, were interviewed. They stated Mr. Kristol is a loyal American citizen of good character, reputation, and associates, and they

Irving Kristol

recommended him for a position of trust and confidence with the United States Government. He was variously described by persons interviewed as an intelligent, articulate, conscientious, hardworking, and trustworthy individual. They said Mr. Kristol is an outstanding author and editor who is highly regarded by his associates. They stated Mr. Kristol possesses good judgment, is conservative in his views, and is a leading scholar in the field of urban affairs. Those acquainted with his close relatives advised they are loyal and reputable American citizens.

Close Relatives

Mr. Kristol's mother, Bessie Kristol, is deceased. In addition to his wife and daughter, previously mentioned, Mr. Kristol has the following living close relatives:

| | |
|------------|---|
| Father | Joseph Kristol Panorama City, California |
| Stepmother | Lillian Kristol Panorama City, California |
| Son | <div data-bbox="720 1146 1232 1255"></div> |
| Sister | Lillian Kristol O'Sullivan Las Vegas, Nevada |

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Credit and Arrest Checks

Information has been received from the appropriate credit reporting agencies indicating their files contain either no record or no additional pertinent information concerning Mr. Kristol.

Information has been received from the appropriate law enforcement agencies indicating their files contain no record concerning Mr. Kristol or his close relatives.

Irving Kristol

Security Clearance

Mr. Kristol currently holds a top secret clearance granted in 1972 by the United States Information Agency based on an applicant-type investigation conducted in 1972 by the Civil Service Commission.

Miscellaneous

"The New York Times," daily New York City newspaper, issue of February 16, 1960, in its "Letters to The Times" column, carried a letter from Mr. Kristol and others in which they called for clemency for Harry Gold and Morton Sobell, who were serving sentences of thirty years' imprisonment for espionage. A copy of this article is enclosed.

Mr. Kristol was interviewed by Special Agents of the FBI during 1962 in connection with another matter. Mr. Kristol advised that during 1959 when he was editor of the magazine, "The Reporter," Helen Sobell, wife of Morton Sobell, previously mentioned, came to his office and attempted to convince him of her husband's innocence. He stated he had never met Mrs. Sobell before and could not explain why she came to see him about her husband who had been convicted and sentenced to thirty years' imprisonment for espionage.

Mr. Kristol stated, however, Mrs. Sobell persuaded him to look into her husband's case. He said that after a review of the entire case he was convinced Morton Sobell was guilty of espionage but felt that the sentences which were received by Sobell and Harry Gold, were excessive. He said he therefore formulated a letter to the editor of "The New York Times" expressing his feelings in this matter.

Agency Checks

Information has been received from the following governmental agencies indicating their files contain

| |
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| |
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b7E

Irving Kristol

Bureau of Personnel Investigations Civil
Service Commission; [redacted]
[redacted] House Committee on Internal
Security; United States Information Agency;
United States Secret Service; and
The White House Office.

b3
b7E

The central files of the FBI, including the files
of the Identification Division, contain no additional
pertinent information concerning Mr. Kristol.

Enclosure

Letters to The Times

To Free Gold and Sobell

Clemency Believed in Order in View
of Ten Years' Imprisonment

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

We should like, with your permission, to direct public attention to the cases of two men now serving sentences of thirty years' imprisonment for espionage. We feel that in both cases the sentences were excessive and that—a full decade having passed—an act of clemency is now in order.

The first case is that of Harry Gold, who cooperated fully with the authorities in exposing Soviet espionage activities in this country, but who nevertheless (for reasons beyond our comprehension) received this extreme sentence. He now languishes in jail. While both Allen Nunn May and Klaus Fuchs were far more important and sinister figures than Gold, neither evidenced any noticeable change of heart; neither rendered any assistance to his Government; and yet they are now set free, while Gold remains in prison. We submit that this is an absurd injustice which ought to be remedied.

The second case is that of Morton Sobell. We agree with the jury that Sobell—who protests his innocence—was guilty of espionage beyond a reasonable doubt. But we think that ten years is an ample sentence for what Sobell actually did and that, having served the term, he should now be released.

Lack of Evidence

Sobell was tried together with Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, who were convicted of supplying atomic data to Soviet agents and were later executed. The only witness against him, Max Elitcher, stated merely that Sobell had tried, without success, to get military information from him for the benefit of the Soviet Union. Elitcher said nothing about atomic espionage, as Judge Kaufman admitted in sentencing Sobell: "The evidence in the case did not point to any activity on your part in connection with the atom bomb project."

This is why the late Judge Jerome Frank of the United States Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit dissented from the opinion of his two colleagues in upholding the verdict on Sobell.

In view of the fact that no atomic espionage was even alleged against him, and that the sole witness testified merely to unsuccessful attempts to procure information, we think that Sobell should now be released from prison.

(We do not mention David Greenglass, another principal involved in this case, whose testimony as a co-operative witness played a key role, because he was sentenced to fifteen years and has been eligible for parole for some time. His applications for parole have been uncharitably denied seven times. What we have said above applied *a fortiori* to him.)

NATHAN GLAZER, SIDNEY HOOK,
IRVING KRISTOL, DWIGHT MACDONALD

New York, Feb. 9, 1960.

"The New York Times"
February 16, 1960

161-1155-36
ENCLOSURE



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

November 17, 1972

IRVING KRISTOL

THE INVESTIGATION OF MR. KRISTOL COVERED INQUIRIES IN THE CONTINENTAL UNITED STATES AS TO HIS CHARACTER, LOYALTY, ABILITY, AND GENERAL STANDING, BUT NO INQUIRIES WERE MADE AS TO THE SOURCES OF HIS INCOME.

I. BIOGRAPHICAL DATA

Birth

Mr. Kristol was born on January 22, 1920, in New York, New York, as Irving William Kristol.

Education

Mr. Kristol attended City College, The City University of New York, New York, from September, 1936, to June, 1940, receiving a B.A. degree.

Employment

July, 1940;
February, 1944,
to September,
1944; and
September, 1946,
to July, 1947

Unemployed in Chicago, Illinois;
New York, New York; and London,
England

August, 1940, to
January, 1944

Department of the Navy, Brooklyn,
New York, as an apprentice
machinist

August, 1947, to
July, 1952

American Jewish Committee,
New York, New York, as managing
editor of the magazine,
"Commentary"

F B I

Date: 11/20/72

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: ACTING DIRECTOR, FBI
FROM: SAC, WFO (161-8580)(P)

IRVING KRISTOL, aka
Irving William Kristol
SPECIAL INQUIRY
Buded: 11/10/72 Without Fail

Re WFO airtels to Bureau dated 11/10/72 and 11/13/72.

161-8580-185

NOT RECORDED
22 DEC 1 1972

①-Bureau
1-WFO
RMS:bjs
(2)

F 4/70

Approved: m/jw
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

MISCELLANEOUS

On November 17, 1972 SC [] reviewed United States Government records at the State Passport Office, Department of State, which revealed the following information regarding the appointee:

b6
b7c

On August 26, 1946 the appointee was issued passport number 128360 at Washington, D.C. Purpose of the passport was to visit England for one year as correspondent for the "New Leader".

On August 5, 1951 the appointee was issued passport number 477781 at Washington, D.C. for the purpose of a three month visit to Israel as a tourist.

In 1955 the appointee was issued passport number 7547/129443 at the American Embassy in London, England. Purpose of trip was to visit all countries, except restricted areas, as representative "Encounter" magazine. On May 31, 1957 this passport was renewed at the American Embassy, London, England for a period of two years.

Airtel

1-11-74

To: SAC, Washington Field (161-8580)

From: Director, FBI (161-9153)

IRVING KRISTOL
SPECIAL INQUIRY
BUDED: 1-18-74

*NAR 1/16/74
for Dickson*

White House has requested an expedite up-to-date check of records of Internal Revenue Service only concerning Kristol. Born 1-22-20, New York, New York, and resides 90 Riverside Drive, New York, New York. He has SSAN 098-12-0933.

Handle as quickly as possible.

EX-109

REC-47

161-9153-39

15 JAN 15 1974

1- ENCLOSURE

NOTE: Request received today.

OJA: dcm/1/14
(4)

MAILED 22

JAN 11 1974

FBI

RETURN TO MR. AUERSWALD, ROOM 1258.

54 FEB 6
MAIL ROOM

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

Assoc. Dir. _____
Asst. Dir.: _____
Admin. _____
Comp. Syst. _____
Ext. Affairs _____
Files & Com. _____
Gen. Inv. _____
Ident. _____
Inspection _____
Intell. _____
Laboratory _____
Plan. & Eval. _____
Spec. Inv. _____
Training _____
Legal Coun. _____
Telephone Rm. _____
Director Sec'y _____

Federal Bureau of Investigation
Records Section

1-14-74, 1974

☐ Name Searching Unit - Room 6527☐ Service Unit - Room 6524☐ Forward to File Review☐ Attention _____☒ Return to Unrecorded - 1258-2427
Supervisor Room Ext.

Type of References Requested:

☐ Regular Request (Analytical Search)☒ All References (Subversive & Nonsubversive)☐ Subversive References Only☐ Nonsubversive References Only☐ Main _____ References Only

Type of Search Requested:

☐ Restricted to Locality of _____☐ Exact Name Only (On the Nose)☐ Buildup☒ VariationsSubject Living Bristol

Birthdate & Place _____

Address _____

Localities _____

R# 140Date 1/14/74

Searcher

Initials 132

Prod. _____

FILE NUMBER

SERIAL

161-9153 (we have)
 I-5-55478
 SI 62-5-37721 Ser 1/19/72
 SI 7-28523 Ser 6/9/67
 SI 1-27885
 Inwino William (Bu)
 SI 161-9153-36 Ser 1/17/72
 Inwino (var)
 SI 100-434225-2

b3

b7E

See
 12/19/74
 JAN 19 1974

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 10, 1974

TO: Robert H. Haynes, FBI

FROM:



b6
b7C

SUBJECT: FBI Investigations

Subject's Name KRISTOL, Irving

Date of Birth 1/22/20 Place of Birth New York, New York

Present Address: 90 Riverside Drive, New York, New York

We Request: Copy of Previous Report

X Name Check and IRS

Full Field Investigation

The person named above is being considered for:

White House Staff Position

X Presidential Appointment

Position with another Agency

Attachments:

SF 86 (in duplicate)

SF 87, Fingerprint Card

Biography

Remarks: NC 4/26/72 FF 11/17/72

*AIT to WFO.
11/11/74
GJH
161-9153-39*

ENCLOSURE

MAILED

JUN 13 1975

NAME CHECK

IRVING B. KRISTOL

932
Captioned individual, who you advised was born January 22, 1920, at New York, New York, and resides at 90 Riverside Drive, New York, New York, was the subject of an applicant-type investigation conducted by this Bureau in 1972 with an up-to-date check in 1974. Copies of the FBI summary memorandum dated November 17, 1972; FBI letters dated November 22, 1972, and January 24, 1974, with Internal Revenue Service communication dated January 21, 1974, concerning Mr. Kristol, are attached.

(161-9153-36, 38, 40, 41)

The central files of the FBI, including the files of the Identification Division, contain no additional pertinent information concerning captioned individual based upon background information submitted in connection with this name check request.

Enclosures (4)

REC-104

43

5 JUN 16 1975

EJK:ysc (4)

NOTE: Per request of [redacted] Staff Assistant
(Security), the White House.

b6
b7C

Asst. Dir.:
Admin. _____
Comp. Syst. _____
Ext. Affairs _____
Files & Com. _____
Gen. Inv. _____
Ident. _____
Inspection _____
Intell. _____
Laboratory _____
Plan. & Eval. _____
Spec. Inv. _____
Training _____
Legal Coun. _____
Telephone Rm. _____
Director Sec'y _____

ENCLOSURE
DELIVERED BY LIAISON
ON 6/11/75

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

JUN 20 1975

GPO 554-546

Federal Bureau of Investigation
Records SectionKilday, 19
5224 JEH

☐ Name Searching Unit, 4543 JEH-FBI Bldg.
☐ Service Unit, 4654 JEH-FBI Bldg.
☐ Forward to File Review
☐ Attention _____
☐ Return to _____

Supervisor Room Ext.

Type of References Requested:

☐ Regular Request (Analytical Search)
☒ All References (Subversive & Nonsubversive)
☐ Subversive References Only
☐ Nonsubversive References Only
☐ Main _____ References Only

Type of Search Requested:

☐ Restricted to Locality of _____
☐ Exact Name Only (On the Nose)
☐ Buildup ☐ Variations

Subject KRISTOL, IRVING B.
 Birthdate & Place _____
 Address _____

Localities

R# 105 Date 6/9 Searcher Initials 508
 Prod. NR 1975

FILE NUMBER

SERIAL

| | |
|-----|----------------------------|
| UTD | 161-9153 SS DATED 1/14/74 |
| | IRVING WILLIAM (VAR) |
| I | 161-9153 I |
| I | 161-9153-3 (sum. 11/17/72) |
| | IRVING |
| ND | 9-55478 VICTIM |
| L | 62-5-23523 (sum. 6/9/67) |
| I | 62-5-37721 (sum. 1/19/72) |
| I | 62-5-27885 |
| | IRVING (VAR) |
| T | 100-434225-2 |
| | WILLIAM (AKA) |
| I | 161-9153-25 |
| | SEES ON REL. NOT LISTED |
| | 11/10/75 |

MEMORANDUM

PLEASE EXPEDITE

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 6, 1975

TO: BERNARD RACHNER, FBI

FROM:

b6
b7C

SUBJECT: FBI Investigations

Subject's Name B.
Irving Kristol

Date of Birth 1/22/1920 Place of Birth New York, N. Y.

Present Address: 90 Riverside Drive, New York, New York 10024

We Request: Copy of Previous Report

 X Name Check

 Full Field Investigation

The person named above is being considered for:

 White House Staff Position

 X Presidential Appointment

Attachments:

 SF 86 (in duplicate)

 SF 87, Fingerprint Card

 Biography

Remarks:

PLEASE EXPEDITE

161-8153-43
ENCLOSURE

FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

IRVING KRISTOL

MAR 3 1981

317 4 NY
Irving KRISTOL

Captioned individual, who you advised was born January 22, 1920, in New York, New York, and holds Social Security Number 098-12-0933, was the subject of an applicant-type investigation by the FBI in 1972 and an up-to-date White House name check request and check of the records of the Internal Revenue Service in 1974. There is attached one copy each of a summary memorandum dated November 17, 1972, and FBI letters dated November 22, 1972, and January 24, 1974, which contain the results of this investigation and name check request.

161-9153

The central files of the FBI and the records of the Identification Division contain no additional pertinent information concerning the captioned individual based upon background information submitted in connection with this name check request.

Enclosures (3)

NOTE: Per request of [redacted] Administrative Assistant
(Security), White House.

b6
b7c

Exec AD Inv. _____
Exec AD Adm. _____
Exec AD LES _____
Asst. Dir.:
Adm. Servs. _____
Crim. Inv. a _____
Ident. _____
Intell. _____
Laboratory _____
Legal Coun. _____
Plan. & Insp. _____
Rec. Mgnt. _____
Tech. Servs. _____
Training _____
Public Affs. Off. _____
Telephone Rm. _____
Director's Sec'y _____

PJL:wep
(4)

64 APR 28 1981

MAIL ROOM ☐

RLM
DELIVERED TO LIAISON
DATE... 3/30/81 d.v.t.

MAR 3 1981

17 APR 1 1981

19

- ☐ Name Searching Unit, 4543, TL# 115
☐ Service Unit, 4654, TL# 225
☐ Special File Room, 5991, TL# 142
☐ Forward to File Review, 5447, TL# 143
☐ Attention _____
☐ Return to _____ Supervisor, Room, TL#, Ext.

☐ Restricted Search (Active Index - 5 & 20)
☐ Restricted Search (Active & Inactive Index - 5 & 30)
☒ Unrestricted (Active & Inactive Index)

Special Instructions (Check One)

☒ All References (Subversive & Nonsubversive)

☐ Subversive Search

☐ Nonsubversive Search

☐ Main _____ References Only

☐ Exact Name Only (On the Nose)

☐ Buildup ☐ Variations

☐ Restricted to Locality of _____

MAR 6 1980

Subject: Kristol, Irving
 Birthdate & Place 1-23-20
 Address 098-12-

Localities NYC: WA, DC, AK,

R# 666 Date 326 Searcher Initials 450
 Prod. 10

FILE NUMBER

SERIAL

| | | |
|----|---------------------|--------------|
| TD | 161-9153 | Doc 11-13-72 |
| | 161-9153 9-35478 | |
| | 62-5-28523 | sum 6427 |
| | 62-5-37721 | sum 1172 |
| | Irving B. | (BU) |
| | 161-9153.43 | sum 81100 |
| | Irving William | |
| | SI | |
| | 161-9153.36 | sum 117722 |
| | Irving | |
| | Irving Mrs. | |
| | SI | |

MAR 26 1981